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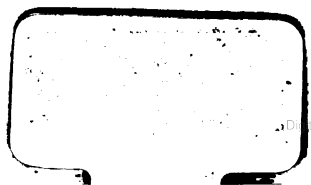
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WRECK OF THE MINERVA WHALER.

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A Narrative
OF THE
WRECK OF THE MINERVA
WHALER OF PORT JACKSON,
NEW SOUTH WALES,
ON NICHOLSON'S SHOAL, 24° S. 179° W.;

To which is added,
THE SUBSTANCE OF AN ADDRESS TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
THE ELDER BRETHREN OF THE TRINITY BOARD,
RESPECTING THE EXAMINATION OF
NEW-MADE MASTERS IN NAUTICAL CALCULATIONS, &c. &c.

BY PETER BAYS,
Sailing-Master.

CAMBRIDGE:
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TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE DUKE OF SUSSEX,

MOST WORSHIPFUL GRAND MASTER OF THE UNITED LODGES,

&c. &c. &c.

Your Royal Highness having most condescendingly been pleased to favor me with the permission to prefix your august name to the following Narrative, I beg leave to inscribe the same as a tribute of gratitude for the honor conferred upon me, and as the most public testimony I can give of the respect for which your Royal Highness is so greatly and so justly celebrated; but the more especially so as the Grand Patron of Masonry, in which light I feel encouraged to address you; and when I behold your Royal Highness as the Representative of your august brother, the universally beloved King William, himself the Seaman and the Seamen's friend, who has been most graciously pleased to condescend to become the peculiar Patron of the Port of London Seamen's Hospital, and your Royal Highness seconding the motion, (advocating the cause of our long neglected Tars) I can but congratulate the fraternity that they have such Patrons of Philanthropy before them, who know how to feel for the distressed, and to sympathize with the wretched; "to weep with them that weep, and to rejoice

with them that do rejoice." He that hath this secret is a Mason indeed, all else are Cowans besides. Hail, then, most illustrious Prince, Grand Master of the masonic art, and let your light of Masonry shine forth with full meridian splendour, for the time is coming, and now is, that "kings are becoming nursing fathers, and queens our nursing mothers," causing the hearts of the widow and the orphan to sing for joy, and promoting the cause whereby Sailors shall prosper and turn to the Lord, carrying with them, to the utmost bounds of the sea, the salvation of the Most High.

That our truly beloved Sovereign, and your Royal Highness, may long live to enjoy health and happiness, and to receive the well-merited homage of the affection and respect of the public, is the prayer of the unfortunate writer of the following Narrative, who with the most profound respect, humbly begs to subscribe himself

Your Royal Highness's

Most humble and devoted Servant,

Peter Barry, H. M. H. J.

Cambridge;

May 5th, 1831.

PREFACE.

IN writing the following relation, I have not only stated cases as they were, but to make it more a narrative, in some few instances I have touched upon the state of mind under shipwrecked circumstances, by introducing occasional reflections, which my conscience, in gratitude to God for so great a deliverance, would not suffer me to omit; but as these little breaks are always in a smaller type than the narrative itself, (saving in some few cases which escaped my observation till the press was set) the reader may, if he please, proceed onward with the large type, which more properly may be termed the substance of the work.

As the following lines, (which have incidentally fallen into my hands just as the last sheet is going to press,) are a true picture of the shipwrecked scene, I have quoted them not only to give weight to my own description in our experience, but that the readers may be more deeply impressed with

a sympathy for the cast-away Seaman, and thereby become the more willing advocates of the Sailor's Cause, which is the object of this work to espouse.

“ ——— Now, lash'd on by destiny severe,
 With horror fraught, the dreadful scene draws near!
 The ship hangs hovering on the verge of death,
 Hell yawns, rocks rise, and breakers roar beneath.
 Uplifted on the surge, to heaven she flies,
 Her shatter'd top half-buried in the skies:
 Then head-long plunging thunders on the ground:
 Earth groans!—air trembles!—and the deeps resound!
 Her giant bulk the dread concussion feels,
 And, quivering with the wound, in torment reels.
 Again she plunges!—hark!—a second shock
 Tears her strong bottom on the marble rock!
 Down on the vale of death, with dismal cries,
 The fated victims shuddering, roll their eyes
 In wild despair; while yet another stroke,
 With deep convulsion rends the solid oak!
 Till, like the mine, in whose infernal cell,
 The lurking demons of destruction dwell,
 At length asunder torn, her frame divides!
 And crashing, spreads in ruin o'er the tides.”

England, with the King himself at her head,
 does not want an example in the Sailor's Cause.
 Much good has been done by means of various
 benevolent and religious institutions: but over

anxious for the civilization and conversion of the heathen abroad, we have overlooked that which should have been the first consideration—the reformation of our Sailors at home; every one of whom, in the eyes of an uncivilized people, are so many specimens of the British character and of the Christian faith. What wonder, then, and why this ado about Sailors as being the great obstacle in the way of Missionary exertions, since so little pains have been taken to meliorate the Sailor's condition. But, blessed be God, the time is at length arrived when we see a foundation laid in three different departments,—the Port of London Hospital, the Sailor's Home, and the Sailor's Rest; and we now anticipate that something is about to be done in earnest for the general good of Sailors; the King having constituted himself the peculiar Patron of the Seamen's Hospital; and, on the last anniversary, at which His Royal Highness the Duke of Sussex presided, supported by several noblemen and gentlemen, high in the Naval profession, besides nearly two hundred other gentlemen, His Majesty then advanced, through His Royal Highness, his first annual donation of £100, and the Right Honourable the Elder Brethren of the Trinity House £500,

for the ensuing year, exclusive of £1300 which was collected on the occasion. It now only remains for a liberal public, in return to the Sailor for supplying the common and daily wants of the nation, to follow this praise-worthy example; then may the destitute Merchant Seaman entertain some hope of relief, but till then, a mere donation or annual subscription from a few zealous and warm-hearted friends is trifling when compared to the daily calls which these men, from various cases, have upon a benevolent public. However, I have to acknowledge, with gratitude, my thanks to the Right Honourable the Trinity Board, for a donation of £10. awarded to me by that Corporation, as well as to the indefatigable and unwearied G. C. Smith, for five or six weeks' board and lodging: but I beg leave to remark, that these kindnesses were bestowed upon me only under peculiar circumstances, and not from any claim I had upon either of these Institutions, or any other; for, *in all England, there is not a place where the cast-away Seaman can claim a single shilling.*

WRECK

OF THE

MINERVA WHALER.

THE brig *Minerva*, of Sydney, New South Wales, manned with twenty-three hands, including officers, sailed from Port Jackson, August 16th, 1829, on a whaling voyage, towards Tongatabu,* and Solomon islands. On the fifth day after leaving Sydney Heads, it was found that the brig had sprung a leak in the wake of some of her head timbers, and which could not be repaired without going into harbour for that purpose; and, as we had strong northerly gales almost without intermission, till we made the Three Kings, which obliged us to heave to every night, the pumps sometimes could not be left ten minutes: add to which, the leak having free access into the forecastle, (the only accommodation for the seamen,) made their situation truly miserable. Their beds were sodden, while the water from the leak was washing from side to

* Pronounced, and commonly written Tongataboo, from Tabu, or sacred; literally, the Sacred Island.

side under their bunks, or bed cabins ; so that twice, between Port Jackson and that of our making New Zealand, the men made general complaint to Lewis, the whaling master, (properly the master of the vessel,) adverting to the necessity of putting into the Bay of Islands to secure the leak, which he refused on both occasions : and so much did I see the necessity of this myself, that I stated, in the presence of the officers at the mess-table, " that if this was the condition of the brig in *five days*, what might we not fear of an old vessel before *three hundred and sixty-five days* had elapsed, for which time she was said to be victualled."

But of this, and certain other particulars relating to *unqualified* ship-masters and *unseaworthy* ships, (the wretched outfit of some, and the unwholesome and very bad provision of others, calculated only to invite the scurvy, and destroy life ; whereby, in the whole, property is destroyed ; lives lost ; wives widowed ; and children fatherless) I have already addressed his Excellency the Governor-General of New South Wales, as also the Right Honourable the Master-Wardens and Elder Brethren of the Trinity House, as well as the Committee at Lloyd's, if by any means hereafter my brother officers and fellow seamen may profit by it.* And, although I am aware I shall create to myself enemies among the ignorant, yet, duly considered, I feel I have the approbation of every humane and honest heart, as well as the support of every *qualified* commanding officer ; while I shall not fall short of the well wishes of every British seaman, whose cause, from my own and others sufferings in the present shipwreck, I have attempted to espouse ; if, peradventure, our loss may be their gain ; and that, by the blessing of God, out of evil good may come ;

* See the substance of this letter at the end of the narrative.

while I would hint to Great Britain, and to the world at large, that it is to *seamen* you are indebted principally, as men, either directly, or indirectly, for your wealth, trade, commerce, and luxuries, as well as in a measure for your common and daily support: for there is scarcely *a meal, a repast, or entertainment, we enjoy*, but for which we are more or less indebted to these men!—*neglected men!* who, however, in the lot of Providence, for their own livelihood, yet ultimately for the benefit of the nation, are exiled from home,—exposed to all weathers—buffetted by storms—pinched with cold—bitten by frosts—fainting with heat and toil—the subject of almost every kind of plague, even the plague itself; and worse, if possible, that pest of long voyages—the *scurvy*.* to say nothing of fevers of all climes—diseases of all kinds, besides hunger, thirst, shipwreck and death, to which they are ever liable, as well as imprisonment,† and all the horrors of war, in war time: and, is it possible! that these suffering men, in *WAR the bulwarks*, in *PEACE the life and soul of Commerce*, who bring new titles to Britain;—*THE MART OF NATIONS!*—*THE TYRE OF THE AGE!*—have neither an asylum nor provision made for them? *If shipwrecked, they must beg; when old age and infirmity creep upon them, they languish in a workhouse!* thus they, who through life slave to feed and pamper a nation with luxuries, in infirmity, old age, and death, are deserted by all mankind! I mean, the *merchant seamen*. Surely, methinks, the nation is bound in duty to make the welfare of seamen a subject in their every prayer, as well as to aid its mite toward their present and eternal welfare; and, in one particular, in the support of *MISSIONS!* Of South Sea missions especially, as these are the very *life preservers* of our seamen when cast away among savages; the necessity of which may be seen in our experience in the following narrative; as well as, by revised laws and regulations already established by

* This is a most dreadful disease among sailors in South Seamen and Discovery Ships, of which, if a man die, he may literally be said to putrify alive.

† The writer was nine years a prisoner of war in France under the usurper Buonaparte.

the wisdom of the Church and the Legislature, the great duty of seamen towards God requires *daily* to be *enforced on shipboard*; upon which, I beg leave to say, from my own experience in the case of our wreck, as well as from the experience of thousands, depends *much, very much, their comfort and happiness on board*; if not the prosperity of the vessel, and the safety of lives: and this, as a member in common of the established Church, I would repeat with my dying breath; for the truth of which, I *appeal* to any person who has sailed in ships where religious duties are *daily* performed; while I refer the world at large to a *dying bed*, or to any who have ever been shipwrecked, cast away, or foundered at sea, (but who by the kind hand of heaven have again, after much sufferings and trials, been restored to their country, their family and their friends), and, if such do not acquiesce with what I have said on this subject in my letter to the Right Honourable the Elder Brethren of the Trinity Board, as a most needful and salutary discipline, then I am willing to be called the enemy of seamen, instead of a friend, whose cause I have now taken upon me to plead.

It may now be observed, that it was fifteen days before we made New Zealand. Here I had a favourable opportunity of finding the true rate of our chronometer, and by the mean of three sets of observations between Mount Carmel and Cape Maria, found it had gained thirty-nine seconds in sixteen days, in addition to the old rate of three seconds per day.

Monday, September 1: About noon, saw a reef (not laid down in our chart) bearing south of Cape Maria, nearly two leagues from it; tacked, and stood off from the land.

September 2: The wind, which hitherto had

been northerly, now hauled round more to the westward; and, at about seven A.M., being close hauled with our larboard tacks on board, saw land again on the weather bow. It was the Three Kings, a cluster of rocks and small islands to the westward of Cape Maria: passed to leeward of them. The wind now chopped round to the S. W. and south.

September 5: From south, the wind had now veered round to S.E. and E.S.E., which not only prevented us from making good our longitude, the first point to be obtained, but it had driven us so far north, that it was a mere chance if we got another slant of wind to favour us while in these latitudes: however, as we lay pretty well up, about N.E. and N.E. by N., we had good hope of making Pilstart Island without much tacking, which was of little consequence, the whole of the passage being good whaling ground.

September 7: Struck a porpoise, and tried it out.

September 9: We were now close hauled with our starboard tacks on board, and, according to our charts, had a clear open sea before us, and nothing to fear; still I always gave orders to the officer of the watch, to station the look-out previous to my leaving the deck at night, for I kept no watch myself. And although we were now plowing furrows in but half discovered seas, yet so satisfied did I feel myself with respect to the result of two sets of observed distances of the sun and moon, which so

exactly agreed with the longitude by chronometer, that, as it regarded our safety as to the ship's place, perhaps I should not have retired more self secure during the voyage than on this night in which the brig struck; hence, had the shoal been laid down in our charts,* it is almost impossible that we should have struck here, as having plenty of sea room, be the wind which way it might, it is evident we should have given it a wide berth, and not have run within some degrees of it. But, it appears, "we have never so much need to fear, as when we fear nothing;" for, at about two A.M., civil time,† on September 9th, a cry, fore and aft, as instantaneous as by word of command, one and all, the watch, sang out, *The brig's aground! The brig's struck!* They need not have told us this, as the shock nearly capsized us out of our bed cabins. I seem now to think I feel a faint resemblance of the shock within me, as far as the shadow resembles the substance.—Death and terror stare every soul in the face; and hell, the conscientious sinner. I flew upon deck, I scarcely knew how—all talkers but no doers—and self preservation seemed to be the impulse of every motion. Where are we Mr. B., where are we? was the general cry. I referred to the charts, but in neither of them was there rocks,

* Our charts were not of the very latest edition, which we could not procure previous to our leaving Sydney; or these reefs are laid down in the new charts.

† Ship time begins at noon, and is twelve hours before civil time.

or sands, or shoals, or danger, or land, laid down nearer than the Feejee Islands, and we were now midway between New Zealand, and the Friendly Islands; but, before we had time to consider, a second sea gave her another hoist and secured her, as in a bed, upon the reef; and now the rollers (the surf) have full play upon her, making a complete breach over her;—her destruction is sealed!—her loss inevitable!—the water already being level with the cabin floor; and, if the moment she struck was a summons, this seems to be an arrest to appear before the dread tribunal of an angry judge, with a—“Thou fool*, this night thy soul shall be

* It is common in whalers to anticipate too great success on the passage out, and to plan many good things for themselves on their return. This is all very natural, and may be very good, in humble dependence upon God; but the evil is, they too commonly, and I had almost said universally, anticipate fortunes which they will never possess, *because* they do it as though all were in the power of their own hands, or the mere effect of chance, as entirely regardless of Providence, and in contempt of the observers of it; as though, indeed, there were not a God that governed the earth, and all the minutest creatures therein; and thus it was on board the *Minerva*. Every evening was spent in spinning yarns and relating stories as long as the main top bow-line; we were to have a full ship in about half the usual time, and I know not what; new ribbons and true blue for Poll and Bess, &c. &c. But “let not him that girdeth on his harness, boast himself as he that putteth it off;” nor the ship that is going out in search of whales, as that which hath returned with *the oil*. There is many a slip, even between the cup and the lip; as a proof of this, a ship belonging to Mr. T. S., some few years back, returning home deep laden with oil, was lost after she had passed the Downs; and so it is of many others: as, upon the average, it is computed *that no less than one ship and a half are lost daily throughout the year*. And, saving the friends of the shipwrecked and perishing victims, how few, very few, are concerned for the future welfare of seamen, or that will lay to heart the case of the poor drowned sailor, or mourn over him with an *alas, my brother!* or a *where is he?*—Behold he is gone whither no traveller returns.

required of thee!" "What will not a man give for his life?" There is now not a moment to consider, not a moment to lose: to remain by the wreck,* is certain death, as the boats will soon be washed away: to take to the boats, we can but perish.—Here's a scene! One is crying out "What shall we do?"—A second, "Cut away the masts:"—"out boats," cries a third:—some are raving in despair; and others, "I'm ruined for ever!" The rollers are now breaking over us with redoubled fury, compelling us to quit the vessel; and, as by force, like so many peace officers driving us before them as to a prison: when all seem, as by instinct, as an only

* In cases of shipwreck, it is commonly recommended to remain by the vessel; but this, I apprehend, is when a ship is cast away upon a lee shore, or struck upon a reef near the land, when relief from other sources, which the ship will not afford, may be obtained from the shore, or the fall or rise of the tide, or a change of weather, may prove favourable; and to this we must all agree, as to a *general rule*: but when a dismal night is fast approaching, or a vessel is far from land, and there is little hope of her holding together till day light, we do well to take advantage of the first opportunity, or a chance itself, before dark; however, a boat lowered down in the midst of a surf, or broken sea, is but a sorry safeguard, as it is ten to one if she does not fill before she gets free from the ship, especially if it be in the night and it blows fresh. If it be asked, how we were so fortunate, I must candidly confess, I cannot say; but the reader must allow there are some exceptions, and, in such cases, his superior judgment must direct him;—heaven alone toiled for us, rather than any wisdom of our own could devise: in short, as before hinted, we had no choice, and what we did, I believe was from the impulse of necessity alone, as by instinct, God being merciful unto us. It may be noticed here, that three of our men did stay by the brig all night, and were saved by the boats in the morning, as an instance that it is the safest to remain *fast on that part of the vessel which has grounded*, when near the land; but had we done this, we should all have perished in the end for want of boats and provision, for the after part of the vessel, which did not take the ground, (which is commonly the case) broke away from the fore part, and, consequently, every thing which might be a means of preserving or prolonging life with it.

refuge, to fly to the boats, which must be lowered down in the midst of a tremendous surf, while the darkness of the night, and the mingled cries of the people, threw all into confusion.—“Lower away,” cries one; and “avast,” cries another; for, in the hurry, it was impossible to clear the tackling of the boats, or to see rightly what was doing, or which way to pull; and our boat had no sooner got to her bearings, than, before we could unhook the tackles, a sea struck her with great violence, and tore away the tackle and davit all together.

Having got so far from the brig's side as to be able to get the oars out, without thought, we were pulling in the direction of the vessel's stern, but the violence of the breakers soon corrected this error, it being impossible to meet them, and, in an instant, it was, *stern all!** and the next minute, as by a miracle of infinite mercy, we were carried upon the top of a broken wave entirely clear of the reef as into a mill-pond with tackle and davit towing astern, although at this time we did not know it. Had the davit or any of the bights of the tackle got foul of the rocks in our passing over them, the sudden jerk would have instantly torn the boat's stern clean out of her, and we must inevitably have swamped and every soul of us perished; but it was the Lord's will to deliver us. And here again (I shall never forget it) I cannot but now lift up my heart

* Stern all, a term among whalers, to retrograde, or pull stern foremost.

with a sigh in grateful remembrance of what I at that moment felt, for although I had escaped with but the shirt on my back, yet the unexpected and sudden change from such imminent danger, from being swallowed up in a most tremendous surf, or dashed to atoms against the rocks, was to me unutterable language.—I was like another creature—I had been as it were dead, and was alive again, and could only compare myself to a reprieved criminal so nearly to be executed as to have the halter about his neck.

Upon collecting ourselves a little, we found that whatever was thrown into the boat in our confusion was afloat in her, as she was now half full of water; and I being wet and cold, Mr. Garrett, the mate, gave me his boat-cloak to throw over me, and having got the boat bailed out, we lay upon our oars under the lee of the reef till day light, in hopes of picking up some of the remains of the wreck, or of seeing some of the other boats. We were the first boat away. By and by, I think it might be half an hour, we heard a hallooing, and in a few minutes after perceived a boat, it was the second mate's, (Mr. Shean) he informed us that Lewis was raving about the decks like one distracted, and would not leave, and that the sea was making a breach clean over all.

About this time we saw a light on board, and, some considerable time after, heard shouts, and presently Lewis's boat hove in sight which reported

that it had left him and two others on board, who it appeared had been drinking too freely of grog and wine. We agreed, therefore, to keep together till day light, and never did more wishful eyes look out for the morning. In vain did Sirius renew his acquaintance; in vain did the sparkling belt of Orion seem to welcome our escape, or the crimson eyed Bull* to sympathize with us, but rather the very remembrance of them, from the door of a once homely cottage amid the circle of our friends, could but add unto our distress, in addition to the most poignant grief, in forlorn hope of ever seeing those who lay so near and dear to every heart. But it is now no time to be thinking about home: a single sigh to heaven in their behalf, with an imaginary parting kiss for ever at wives, and children, is all now that time will afford: these may be our last moments, and God alone must occupy the heart: for, considering how far we were from land, about three hundred miles in a direct line, which we could never fetch with the wind as it was then, from the eastward, in a small open boat and exposed to all weathers, it was now time to be shaking hands with death, or, in other words, to be making our peace with heaven whose kindness we had so long and so much abused.

At day break several pieces of the wreck passed us, and as day-light appeared, chests, casks, pieces

* These brilliant and well known constellations, shone with peculiar lustre about two hours before day-light.

of pork, timber, &c. were floating about in all directions; and now, again, we had to bless God for another extraordinary preservation which, till now, we were not aware of, for the smooth water we had gotten into proved to be a kind of basin, formed by the reef, which extended in an oblong direction; for, as far as the eye could reach, we were completely blockaded, or rather barricaded in with rocks and breakers, so that had we not kept close under the lee of the weather breakers during the night, we must have fallen on those to leeward, and every soul have perished. This shoal I should think, extends four or five leagues N.E. and S.W. and may be four or five miles broad. We saw turtle within the basin, and many provision casks lay aground, so much had the tide fallen since the brig struck, which must have been at about high-water; but the first thing we did after day-break was to lighten our smallest boat, (the boat in which we were saved) as much as possible, by taking every thing out of her, and all hands but four, and to proceed toward the wreck, if perhaps there might be a surviving fellow creature on any part of it, which, to our great joy, we presently discerned by the waving of a hat, but the water was now so shallow, that the men were obliged to get out of the boat and make her fast to a rock while they waded through the water to the wreck, where, by the great mercy of God, our three poor fellow sufferers and the dog were yet preserved.

They informed us, that as soon as the last boat left, they cut away the spare boat (which was cap-sized, or stowed bottom up over the stern) lest her weight, with the force of the sea breaking over her, should be the means of dragging away the stern bulwarks; they then proceeded to cut away the masts to prevent her falling over on her broad-side, which done, they all took shelter between the weather bulwarks and the try-works,* while the poor dog lay yelling under the bowsprit; but the sea making a continual break over them, carried away the try-works; they were now induced to make their way aft to windward of the companion hatchway, the poor dog as sensible of the danger still faithfully following; but here they were in more danger than before, and had just time to run forward, before the deck and the whole of the upper works parted abaft the main mast, and washed clean away from the body of the wreck: the only foothold they now had, was on the forecastle, under the lee of the bowsprit, where they secured themselves during the night, despairing of ever seeing day-light, fearing for the most part every moment to be the last.

What could have induced them to remain on board when seeing the last boat about to leave, is most astonishing; and I confess we all as much wondered, as we were unable to determine; for the reef was wholly unknown to us, and had we not taken to the boats, as before observed, we must all

* Try-works, large copper boilers for boiling the blubber.

inevitably have perished ; but it appears from the report of the last boat, that liquor had been given the men, and that L— was raving and determined not to leave ; and, to exceed all, even now he could hardly be persuaded to quit the wreck, for the liquor had so much operated upon them, that he swore he would not leave, but would collect together what he could of the wreck, and build a storm-house, and boat large enough to take us all ; whereas, at high water, it was evident there would not be a vestige of the wreck remaining ; in short, he knew not what he said, and it was nearly noon before we could get him away from the wreck, with three of the men, including one who went on board at daylight, who were obliged to be carried on the shoulders of others, dead in liquor, into the boat ; in fact, I scarcely know how to express my feelings at this time, I thought to be sure the very devil possessed them, for, in spite of all, lay down in the water they would, while our time was so precious ; for we had yet to look out for a clear passage between the rocks : and it was with the greatest difficulty we got them into the boats, even by main force, to the danger of the lives of their preservers.

But to proceed, during this time, from day-light till towards noon, the two other boats were looking out for provisions and water of which we got well supplied, grieving much to see so many good things floating about at the mercy of the waves.

The boats having collected together, our first

business was to look out for an opening or passage between the breakers, and after pulling some distance we saw an opening somewhat smoother than the general appearance, and as the tide was rising we agreed to wait till a certain rock was flown over before we attempted the passage, which delay, by the blessing of God, we were enabled to turn to no small advantage, as it was the means of our getting a pretty correct observation from the sun's meridional altitude, taken in smooth water, and actually upon the shoal, the latitude of which we found to be $24^{\circ} 6'$ south, longitude by account about $178\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ west; add to which, in the interim, as the boats lay close together, I took an opportunity of giving a few hints to all hands, reminding them of our all-dependance upon Almighty God, without which, it was evident, it would be impossible to succeed, for we were far from land with contrary winds, and there was such a heavy sea running outside that it would be impossible to make a straight course even with the oars, and for ought we knew the greatest of our trouble might be yet to come; it certainly was great encouragement to every one of us to know that we were thus far delivered, which indeed we ought to take as an earnest of God's goodness to bring us through all. But lest we should be too sanguine in our hopes, I begged that every one would prepare for the worst, for even this deliverance might only prove a respite from death for a short time, as should it be the will of the Lord to

take us, we all might be without excuse, for the deliverance from the wreck itself was sufficient to show "that God willeth not the death of a sinner, but that all should come to repentance;" For, upon the retrospect, if we had any conscience at all, we must be constrained to acknowledge that "our sins had surely found us out;" for I felt this scripture was fulfilled in the experience of every one of us. Upon a secret conviction of these truths, a silent awe seemed to pervade every face, and all consented with one accord that a prayer should be offered up to Almighty God to the purpose; and, for once, the Churches of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales were united in Christian fellowship; and, having committed ourselves to God, we proceeded towards the reef, where, by his merciful hand, we were preserved a second time from the dreadful rocks and rollers which threatened to dash us to pieces on the one hand, and to overwhelm us on the other.

We were now twenty-three souls in all, in three open boats, with contrary winds, and exposed to all weathers, and entirely destitute of any human aid, and without so much as a chart* to direct us; and, for ought we knew, when least expected, we might fall upon another reef, or even upon the top of a whale in the night, which are common here at this season, and either of these would have proved fatal

* There was a chart of the Fegge and Friendly islands saved out of the wreck, but it was so sodden with salt water during the night, that it was totally defaced in the morning.

to every one of us;* in short, our situation was such, that nothing but the goodness and power of God, in whose hand we were, could save us. There was a heavy sea running outside the reef, which I must confess much overawed my feelings, for whale-boats are in general but mere shells, built of half-inch plank worked up to about one-third of an inch, and this was a matter of serious consideration; for, although they are the best sea boats, and answer their every purpose in the killing of whales when there is succour near at hand, in cases of accident, yet they are too slender and ticklish for long journeys; much less, loaded as we were. But here, again, it was encouraging to know that we were in the hollow of his hand, whose omniscient eye was at that moment looking down upon us, and that if a sparrow did not fall to the ground without him, we could but feel much of his paternal care over us, for “as a father pitieth his children, so the

* This we fear to have been but too truly verified in the case of the second mate's boat, as there is not the least doubt but she struck on another similar reef to the northward, which we *since* find laid down in the chart. And here, again, one cannot but see the very finger of God in our own preservation, for had not our boat got stove by a sea, we unavoidably must have shared the same fate, as we were all steering the same course, but the leak gaining so very fast upon us, we could not carry sail, and were obliged to raft the boat, Lewis's boat keeping us company; thus the very evil—the leak, which kept two buckets bailing the whole night, and which we feared would have proved our dissolution, was the very means appointed under God for our preservation, as it prevented our sailing, which the other boat giving no heed to, kept her course, and no doubt was dashed to pieces on the northernmost reef; we say this, because there is not a shadow of a doubt to the contrary, and God forbid we should overlook an act of such peculiar mercy.

Lord pitieth them that fear him." It is now that a few scraps of the Bible are most precious to us; we seem to find a shelter in them, as so many antidotes against the fear of death; and thus mindful of his protection, we see that "it is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, nor by sails, nor oars, nor art, nor man's device, but in God that sheweth mercy" if we be saved; for, although we had our parts to act, yet this at once stripped us of all self dependance.

Having now got clear of the reef into a fair and open, but rough sea, we got up wash-cloths round the boat of some new canvas we had saved; this prevented us shipping so much water as otherwise we should have done. During the afternoon, the boats kept pretty good company; but ours kept one hand constantly bailing, and towards evening two hands:—the wind increasing, we reefed the sail, this had the desired effect, as we did not make so much water, but now we dropped astern, and to leeward, which caused the other boats to bear down to speak us; they made light of our trouble and we were obliged to out reef again to keep up with them. It blowing fresh, reefed again, and fell astern. Boats spoke us a second time, and we told them our case was dangerous, and begged them to remain by us during the night,—they promised to do so, but we fell to leeward as before. In about half an hour after, second mate's boat bore down to us, and said to the purpose, as well as we could hear,

that they should make the best of their way, and we saw them no more. Seeing our case would be more alarming should the other boats leave us, we out reef again, and being the largest and best sailing boat, got to windward of Lewis, who before, we had nearly lost sight of. The moon was up, but the weather was hazy and inclining for wind. We begged of him to heave to for the night, which he refused till the moon was gone down. It was now about midnight, and we kept in sight till about three A.M., when, I apprehended, we were going over foul ground,* as the sea appeared to break very much; we hailed the other boat and told them of it, and that we absolutely must be obliged to heave to, for that we could carry sail no longer—the moon being about half an hour high, they agreed, and we accordingly streamed the boat, by making a raft of the oars, mast, and sail, and rode by them as at anchor, while they assisted much in breaking off the sea; but we had hard work indeed to keep the boat afloat with two buckets till daylight, and I had ever entertained the greatest horror lest we should perish in the night.

Father of heaven, if it be thy will
That we must perish, we thy will obey,
But let us perish by the light of day.

September 10: Day-light appearing, two very large sharks were lurking round our boat, having

* It is very probable we were now approaching the northermost reef, upon which there is no doubt the second mate's boat was lost and all hands perished.

scented, I presume, some loose pieces of pork we had picked up from the wreck ; these we dispatched with our spade and lances. Made sail again, and committed ourselves, by prayer to God, and now, for the first time, I broke my fast since the evening before we were wrecked, being somewhat faint through long abstinence, and bailing, at which we all took our regular spells.

About nine or ten A.M. spoke Lewis again, and got the carpenter out of his boat, to see if any thing might be done to keep us afloat. We found we had been stove in the bow planks, and materially damaged in the garboard streak, by a sea which struck us in the night, and all that could be done was to get a cloth of new canvas drawn under the boat's bottom and frap her together, which we did ; but this impeded our way so very much through the water, that the other boat was only now and then to be seen as she rose on the top of a sea ; seeing our predicament, that it was not possible to ride it out much longer, and that if we lost sight of the other boat, all hope was past, I desired them to cut away the frapping, and to make all sail and hoist a whiff* as a signal of distress, which the other boat did not see, or seem willing to attend to ; but, fortunately, we outsailed her, and jumped on board, being obliged to leave a large breaker of good water with other provisions

* Whiff, a small flag made fast to the end of a staff, used by whalers as signals, or to set up as a mark upon dead whales, while pursuing after others in sight.

to perish. All we saved was a sextant, chronometer and compass, which we took in our hands as we stepped from one boat into the other. I say it myself, that I believe, could they have got me on board without the others, (as I was the only navigator to conduct the boat,) it is a question if they had not endeavoured to prevent us; however, had they attempted this, one half of us must inevitably have perished in the scuffle, if not both boats upset in the conflict. I may be mistaken, but I am inclined to believe that many officers would not have suffered us to have boarded them, for we had now actually three boats crews, fifteen men and a large dog, in one boat, and that the smallest boat in the ship, but twenty-five feet over all, and five feet the midship thwart, or extreme breadth; our poor dog we had saved from compassion, but now he must be reserved as a *stand-by* in case of famine or drought, as the provision, which before was but a scanty allowance for seven men, must now be made to serve fifteen; our whole stock being about seven or eight gallons of very foul water in two stinking oil kegs, and a little rum, with about two biscuits a man, and about two pounds of pork, and as much cheese, to be distributed among us. All of which was well sodden with salt water, as well as our clothes, which made us almost half as heavy again as we should have been, if dry; we therefore immediately set about lightening the boat, by throwing overboard all extra clothing, muskets, harpoons,

lances, &c., and, in short, every thing which could be spared; and now we were but one plank free, or the water was scarcely six inches from the gunwale of the boat.

We were now in a most alarming situation, fifteen hands in a small open boat, without a second resource to fly to, as we despaired of ever seeing our other boat, which we then considered, had wilfully ran from us in the night (but, as before observed, we must now believe perished on the northermost reef,) till it might please God we should meet them again at Tongatabu, or Sydney: but we sorrowed most of all, that we had not been able to save a large breaker of water, or part of it, which sunk with our boat; for what we now had was in two old oil kegs, and not drinkable but in case of extreme drought: in short, we could not drink the water without mixing it with some of the rum we had saved; this was a good pilot and made the water palatable as long as it lasted—but our biscuit, which we were obliged to be very sparing of, while it appeased hunger, it also created thirst, for, although it had steamed from the heat of our bodies, as each man had secured his morsel in his bosom, yet it still retained the salt, which it had imbibed from the salt water; and so also our morsel of cheese: thus our whole remaining staff of life, while it served to keep us from starving, in a ten fold degree added to our misery by augmenting and aggravating thirst which it brought upon us. And the Lord alone knew

whether we should ever make the land at all, for if we did not get a slant of wind, it would be literally impossible to make Tonga, which was between two and three hundred miles directly to windward of us, and we had to contend with a south-east, or an easterly wind, which blows almost incessantly all the year round, and when it blows fresh, raises a very heavy sea.

It was about ten A.M. when we again providentially escaped a watery grave, and having stowed ourselves in the boat in the best manner we could, we made sail again, but the sea running very high at about eleven, we were compelled to stream or raft the boat;—at about one P.M., reefed the sail and made another attempt, the weather being more moderate. Evening approaching, and the wind and sea having much abated, served the grog: this revived our spirits, and I was not a little gratified to hear one and all singing out, “Mr. B. are you going to let us hear the word of God to night,” (meaning prayers). “Let us have prayer if you please;” and this was the cry every morning and evening after, and I must confess I have seen some men much affected into tears; indeed, these were serious times.

September 11: This was a fine day at sea—at about seven A.M. we took our morsel and a fair allowance of grog, for it must be observed we were obliged to drink grog, not only to make the water palatable, but to make it spin out, as it was im-

possible to say when we should make the land, or a ship, for which our longing eyes were continually upon the look-out, while at night we lay in continual fear of falling upon some reef for want of a chart : in this manner we ran on till Sunday,

September 13: When the rum being out, and, upon examination, we found that we were far shorter of water than we expected, it became necessary to reduce our allowance of water considerably, and, having lost our pannakin overboard, we reduced our quantum to three sips or measures per day, which we served out in the *lid* of a tinder-box.

It may be observed, that till to day we had been making much northing, but the wind veering round to the southward, and being nearly in the latitude of Pilstart island, stood to the eastward till towards evening, when, having found the longitude by chronometer which now could not be depended on, to be 189° east, I resolved to stand to the eastward no longer ; however, I was aware we could not have made so much easting ; but to make more certain of falling in with some of the islands, I proposed to stand to the northward.

September 14: The wind coming again from the eastward, found by observation, that we were in latitude 22° south, or eight miles to the northward of Tonga; and so distressed were we for want of water, that, approaching as we were towards a vertical sun, and so intensely hot as it was, we thought we could not survive another day.

We, therefore, resolved to come to some determination, what was best to be done, and rafted or streamed the boat to consult the matter.—I never shall forget this circumstance: O now, what would I have given for a drink of cold water! Our sufferings could but remind me of the damned in hell, for, as we had been drinking our own, and salt water, thirst became unbearable, and our necessities had almost overcome reason; and, although we could but know that these means to appease drought were but adding thirst to thirst, yet nothing could restrain us: (it will be observed here, from the sprays of the sea which were almost constantly flying over the boat, and the leak together, that, to add to our fear, *she kept one hand continually bailing*); and so little command had I of myself, that I believe I drank more salt water than either of the others, so that those whose turn it was to bail, sometimes refused me the piggin, because, when I did get it to my lips, I drank greedily, for as I felt that we could not long survive in this state, I was therefore resolved to ease my present suffering, rather than prolong my misery by care: in short, I had no government of myself, for, although the draught was nauseous, and as operative and pernicious as a dose of salts, yet much of its bitterness was lost in a raging thirst, which compelled us to repeat the draught as often as our sufferings became no longer bearable, which might sometimes be two hours, an hour, or half an hour; or so long as we could retain a moisture in our throats

by chewing two pieces of lead *alternately as they became cold*, which assisted much in forcing a saliva. So much did our case resemble that of Dives in hell, "who, being in torments, begged that Lazarus might but dip the tip of his finger in *cold* water and cool his parched tongue."

But we experienced doubly the ill effect of the salt water, as we had taken little or no food, and had nothing within to pass through us, it, therefore, brought on a bloody and white flux, (which continued upon me for two or three weeks after my arrival in Tonga,) while our seats were chaffed and blistered from being compelled to remain always sitting in continual wet clothing.

Having consulted for about an hour, it was agreed to stand to the northward, for although we had no chart, yet I was so well acquainted with the geography of the islands in these seas, that I had them (that is, the groups,) in my imagination all before me; and, therefore, pledged my word to bring the boat to some island the next day, if they would but be advised: but certain it was, that we could never make Tonga with the wind from the eastward, and this was the only island we had the least ground of hope of being received by the natives without being killed, for it was observed that boat's crews had been murdered on almost all the islands, even on Tonga itself, previous to the missionaries being there: but some affirmed that missionaries were on the Habais and Vauvau

islands; and who knows, says another, "but there may be missionaries on some of the other islands: if there is, we are sure to be safe; and should we fall in with an island where any of the natives, have ever been at Tonga, or to any of the missionary stations, they will not murder us. O, then, could we but fall in with the missionaries"! and with this hope we made sail, keeping the boat a good free, that she might get way through the water.

It was nearly an hour after, when the appearance of the sky became changed, and the sun, which we had been watching, was gone down; the clouds were gathering black and lowering, and the whole face of the heavens assumed a threatening appearance, approaching to a thunderstorm: but the expectation of torrents of rain pouring down upon our half famished and parched up souls, drowned all fears as to a foreboding storm; or, I must confess, there was something so truly overwhelming in beholding every setting sun, under present circumstances, that I never beheld it going down, but it forced from me a sigh, to be conceived only by the wretched victim doomed to see it rise no more:

At evening, to the setting sun he turns
A mournful eye, and down his dying heart
Sinks helpless:

but the *expectation of rain*, which we prayed earnestly for, and that it might not blow too hard

for our little nautilus to carry sail, and that God would remember us now in our great extremity, and, as we had no chart to direct us, that he would send us such a wind, that we might be constrained to see his hand alone in the preservation of our lives; this somewhat alleviated our distress for the moment; but it was to be a night of great trial to us: we longed and looked with eager eyes at the auspicious cloud, big with the heavy rain, ready to drop down upon us: but, he that gathereth the winds in his fist, and scattereth his thick clouds whithersoever he will, had said (as unto an unbeliever of old), "thou shalt see it with thine eyes, but shall not taste thereof." We had, therefore, after many prognostications, the inexpressible grief of beholding it set in the horizon to leeward, without being permitted to taste one single drop of its sweets: this, I must confess, was very discouraging to me, for as I had my eyes up unto God, I felt all along, that whether for or against us, (for we had feared much wind with it,) that the cloud could neither come nor go without him; I therefore began to fear that the most distressing part of our troubles were yet to come, for I was struck with horror lest we should be compelled to devour each other; however, I dared not hint it; and how I passed this night of our sufferings, I am at a loss to express, farther than till about midnight: I continued drinking salt water, till *worn out* with yearnings and longings,

I fell off into a doze, dreaming of fountains, brooks, and streams, which I was only permitted to see, without being able get at; on awaking, I repeated my old draughts, and found the saline potion so exceedingly bitter, that, at first, I loathed to drink it as formerly.

September 15: At day light, longed for eight o'clock, when we were to have our last sip of water; but, on so lingering an occasion, we made time run an hour faster than it had done, and took our farewell of water at seven A.M., although it is to be observed that this water was all covered with small particles of oil, and had the appearance of soup, was of a filthy taste, and, indeed, not drinkable but to any in a situation similar to our own; yet, now, never was any thing more precious; it was poured out with as much care as if it had been so many drops of blood, to spill one drop of which was instant death. Methinks I now see one or other just putting it to his lips—some appear to swallow it by drops to lengthen the precious draught—others, to swallow part, and the remainder to keep in their mouths as afraid to meet the next moment, which is to tell them that their sufferings, however painful they have been, are not to be compared with what is yet to come. Surely, thought I, this is “to eat and to drink for to-morrow we die;” though, by the bye, we had nothing to eat, nor had we for some time; but the craving of thirst had so completely swal-

lowed up the calls of hunger, that we were hungry and knew it not, for I do not once recollect hearing the complaint made; while I question very much if the small portion of water we had served did not rather aggravate than lessen our misery, and, on the other hand, the oil and filthiness of the water which rendered it so unpalatable, might possibly have been the means of preserving life, as far as the oil might have adhered to the lungs, and moistened the *ways*.

This was the severest day since we left the wreck—the night previous we had suffered indescribable miseries on account of thirst, but to day our sufferings exceeded all those of the other six put together: the sun rose watery and threatening: although the wind did not exceed half a gale, yet the sea was prodigiously high; and, nothing but a case similar to that of the four lepers, with a, “we can but perish,” could have induced us to scud before it (the wind,) with so high a sea running, at which I shall leave the reader to imagine, when the steer oar of a whale boat had not sufficient power to guide us, but we were compelled to get out another oar on the quarter before we could keep her stern on to a following sea, threatening every moment our dissolution; and, although our boat was now managed by the two strongest and best managers of boats among us, yet there was not a hair’s breadth between us and death: in short, I feared it was all

over with us, having the sentence of death within me; and this, afterwards, I found to be the experience of every one of us: but now the eyes spoke what the tongue was big to utter, but dare not, for fear of discouraging others: yet, carry on sail, or swamp, we must; chased, as we were, by the overwhelming wave. Now we are mounted up on the top of a sea, as if ascending with fury to the skies; and now, again, we launch, in frightful descent, the deep abyss, fearing to be ingulphed in the following sea!—the next may be our grave! And thus buoyed up alone with hope, our little bark, as often triumphed, as she bowed to danger! we can but perish if we run (she was sailing now as we supposed, the sea helping us, about seven knots or miles an hour); to heave to, or raft the boat, we are sure to perish for want of water. And to whom could we look but to him who had already delivered us, and whose all-seeing eye was now immediately upon us? It was he alone that had sent us this wind, and had commanded it to blow so strong, that we had no choice, but were impelled to run before it directly north.

The sun now, about ten A.M., became intensely hot; we drank salt water—we bathed our heads, and kept wet cloths to them—I sat down in the stern sheets, with my feet in the well-hole—we again chewed peices of lead, which we put into our mouths as they became cool, if by any means we could allay our parched thirst. In short, it was

a hell to endure on earth ; and, O ! thought I, if this—the shadow, is unbearable, what must the reality be, “ where the worm dieth not, and where the smoke of their torment ascendeth up for ever and ever.” But *man’s extremity is God’s opportunity* : I had often preached up this doctrine, but I never felt myself so much resigned to death, or to bear with patient submission the indescribable pains of thirst, as when I could say, “ Thou, God, seeth me.”—There is not a sparrow falls to the ground, without the will of our Heavenly Father, and how much more value are we than many sparrows.—In these particular scriptures, there is so much of the *paternal, and immediate* care of God toward mankind, in the ordering of all things in the government of his creatures, as entirely swallows up every thing which opposes our good ; while the promises of God, contained in the bible, are so many wells of consolation, and a treasure indeed to them who are instructed therein ; from which I say, then, that whosoever is in the possession of a Bible cannot be poor :—he has a treasure within himself, which neither death, nor life, nor tribulation, nor distress, nor hunger, nor thirst, nor the devil, nor the world, can take away from him ; and I speak from experience, for I must say, that in all my distresses, and though often overawed by the fear of hell, and having the sentence of death at the time within me, I have said within

myself, that I had rather be a beggar on the dung-hill *with my Bible*, than the greatest, the happiest, and most pleasure-taking creature in the universe, *without my Bible*.

However, although thirst was become almost unbearable, we had not quite come to casting lots; our poor dog was yet lying under the head sheets, we therefore passed sentence upon him, should there be as much blood left in him, as a gill each, which might prolong life another day; poor Cerberus was accordingly hauled out, and tied by the legs, as a sheep for the slaughter; but some gannets and purrs at this time hovering about the boat, which are almost certain indications of land not far off, one more compassionate and thoughtful than the rest, said, "let's give the poor dumb animal a chance, and wait till the evening:" and, being unwilling to kill the faithful partner of our sufferings, the petition was agreed to, but with reluctance on the part of some.

It was now nearly noon, and all eyes, I believe, were weary in looking out, when, with a sudden ecstasy of joy, one gave such a shout of "LAND O!" that, at the moment, I believe, every one but himself thought the boat was going down, or that we had got unawares into imminent danger; but the repetition of this joyful news soon put a new face upon every one of us, and the eagerness with which every one standing up to see it, for his own satisfaction, rather put us in fear of upsetting; for,

although we had made land, there was much reason to tremble for our safety, as neither the wind nor the sea had abated. But "what land is it?—what land is it, Mr. B.?"—to this, having no chart, I could only reply, that it must be one of the eastermost of the Feejee, or one of the Friendly islands.—What now is best to be done?—The inhabitants of the Feejee islands were stated to be partially cannibals, and boat's crews had been murdered on most of them. After some consultation, it was therefore proposed to offer up prayer to Almighty God, that whatever the natives might be, "he who turneth the hearts of kings, as he turneth the rivers of waters," would give us favour in the sight of these savages; and, I humbly trust, that every man felt that confidence in God, as to know assuredly for himself, that we were safe in his hands.

And here I cannot omit to make one especial remark, as it deserves particular notice, and may serve to stop the mouths of some, and to confute others, who, either from prejudice, or mere heresay, are fond of speaking, or even forging lies against the Christian Missionary. These men, who forsake country, friends, and all that is dear to them at home; who knowing not whither they may be sent, whether among the inoffensive Hindoo, or the New Zealand Cannibal, offer their willing services to go with their lives in their hands, and solely for the benefit of their deluded fellow-creatures, are frequently most unjustly represented as the offscouring of all things; and thus, from mere hearsay, the most infamous lies are carried from east to west, from pole to pole;—they are considered as injurious to trade between the natives and the shipping—as forestallers—as merchants, rather seeking their own private interest than the conversion of the

heathen ; and, withal, as poisoning the minds of the natives with English laws and customs, which are unconstitutional and ill calculated to the peace of the inhabitants ; and this I have heard in the colony, (New South Wales) and from men, who, forgetting themselves for the moment, have previously confessed the friendship they have received from missionaries ; and now, again, I am constrained to hear something similar, while within hail of the Tonga mission ;* but what are the characters from whom we hear such things ? I would ask, are they Christians ? Yes, if such inconsistent conduct may be called Christianity, which has caused the poor heathen to cry out, in exclamation and disgust against them, *kovi papalangee*, or, in the emphatical meaning in which it was spoken, "white man all the same pig." I say, is it from such that we are to give credit for missionary intelligence ?—but such are commonly these white men who harbour among the islands—a lazy, ill disposed few, who have deserted or left their ships to live in idleness at the expence of the poor natives ; who, from political motives, on some of the islands, keep the whites to fight their guns. In fact, such has been the conduct of some of these, (throwing religion out of the question,) I have felt so indignant against them, that, for the honour of the English name, I have begged of them, for the sake of Englishmen who might come after them, not to bring an ill name on their country ; as the natives must naturally suppose, that what they did here was tolerated and approved of in England, and hence they would consider us all beasts alike. And thus it is, from such persons, or other irreligious unprincipled men, that the missionary character gets defamed, and sea-faring men rarely being found favourable to religion, and too credulous to believe all that is said, take every thing for granted, and the calumny is spread from one end of the world to the other, and thus the poor missionaries are not only represented as wolves in sheep's clothing, but the offscouring of all things ; and, on

* This narrative was originally written in a hut belonging to the Chief Oheella, formerly one of Tonga's principal priests, or spirit men, but now converted to Christianity.

some occasions, I am sorry to say it was so on board the Minerva, the missionaries were represented as injurious to trade; but now, *in the boat*, how very different the cry. O! how carefully does it become us, to speak ill of no man!—tongues now must be made to belie themselves, and the hitherto contemptible missionary is sought after next to God himself, and *those who had before trodden them under foot, are now crying*, “O! would to God there were missionaries on the island.” And hence follows a little conversation:—“Why, what could they do for us?—O! we should be sure to be safe then, or, even if the natives have only been where they are, they wont hurt us, and they’ll give us plenty to eat and to drink.—yes,” replies another, “I wish you may get it”—a third, “why, the chiefs at Tongataboo trade to all the islands, and now they have turned Christians, they have sent native teachers to different islands;”—answer, “why, at the Vauvaus, they killed Sheen’s (the second mate’s) captain and eight men, and set the rest adrift without any provision, and but one oar in the boat,”—“yes, but that was five or six years ago, but now, most of the islands have heard of *the missionaries*, and if they have here, they’ll never hurt us, but use us well,”—yes, says another, “I should not wonder but they’ll take us with them, in one of their canoes, to Tonga, &c.”—and then, again, “O! that there may be missionaries on the island,” was the cry. Here’s a contrast! and let all such as are in the habit of speaking ill of missionaries from mere heresay, remember that ere long their own tongue may be made to belie them, as if ever such should have the misfortune to be cast away among savages, that with us, they will say, *would to God there were missionaries on every island*, that now they might find a refuge in the very persons they have been so falsely defaming; and should this be your lot, I will not ask you whether or not your own conscience will smite you with self-reproach: and, that if such be the case, (and here are the expressions of fifteen men to prove that it really was so); if every seaman and ship-owner ought not to be the first to subscribe towards the support of missions: for wherever the Christian missionary is, the people,

at least, become civilized; and, instead of murder, robbery, cruelty, and rapine, the seaman finds an asylum and a home, while the merchant may recover the remains of the wreck which might be saved; at least, in those districts where the chiefs have embraced Christianity.

For the interest of all parties, therefore, as well the merchant, as the seaman, in addition to the eternal welfare of our fellow-creatures in the conversion of the heathen, it were to be wished that every ship-owner, or agent, whenever they pay men's wages, coming off a voyage, would call their attention to a *missionary box*; which I am persuaded, would shortly afford at least a pair of missionaries to every group of islands in the South Seas; for the religion of the islanders being at a very low ebb as scarcely to influence the people at all, who are led rather by the chief than the priest, the advantage in favour of trade would no doubt soon preponderate in favour of a mission; for, allowing the natives to be indifferent towards their spiritual concerns, yet, it is evident to all who have been among them, that they have an insatiable thirst for trade—the first step to civilization—the very handmaid of conversion. Hence, by such means, through the Divine blessing, cast-away seamen would be literally their own life preservers, as well as of the souls of their fellow men, now wandering in ignorance and barbarism and the darkest superstition.

But, to return to our boat, a very high and cross sea was still running, and it was evident, from the appearance of the water, that we were going over foul ground. As we approached towards the land, it was proposed to go under the lee of the island, but, to our disappointment, we found a reef extending from east to west, almost as far as the eye could reach on this (the south) side of the island, from one to five or six miles from the shore. The day

was far spent, and to remain at sea another night about this dangerous reef, and, withal, so near the shore, would not bear a thought. We therefore determined to hazard it somewhere; but, while consulting and looking out for an entrance between the rocks, we scarcely had got our sail in and the oars out, when, in the midst of our confusion, we found ourselves on the top of a roller or broken wave, another hard astern of us, and a third cast us upon a reef of coral rock, which, till now, as we occasionally rode on the top of a sea, we had taken to be a sand bank, being so very flat and nearly level with the water, and which the sea was rising fast over. All hands now instantly jumped out, and immediately another sea came and laid us all sprawling upon our beam ends, and materially hurt every one of us; two of the men it entirely disabled, while we all more or less were cut and bruised about the hands, feet, and legs. But not a moment was to be lost; the tide was gaining fast upon us, and we had to carry the boat about a hundred yards over craggy rocks and shells, and most of us bare footed. Having got the oars, sail, and every thing out of the boat to lighten her, with some difficulty we got her over the reef into a channel of smooth water; and now, again, may we say, "hitherto hath God helped us." Had we been cast away upon this reef in the night, our dissolution must have been sealed, but we were only materially stove in one plank, with the exception of two

or three smaller rents; another instance of the special goodness of God, who is rich in mercy to all that call upon him, and the dead were again, as it were, restored to life; since, for these seven days we may say we had been in jeopardy every hour, and had several times the sentence of death within us, despairing even of life; but he who had delivered us from so great a death in the beginning, we humbly trust will yet deliver us.

Having got our little boat across the reef, into a fine smooth sheet of water, and every thing into her again, we pulled over to a white sandy beach, where we partly hauled her up for the present; and all, as for our lives, took to the bush after water; but cocoa-nuts first brought us up, which lay under the trees in abundance; and, as Providence would have it, none of us as yet had the native art of husking them, and for fear of losing all the milk, by splitting them with an axe, we were content to drink out of one of the small eyes at the end. After we had relieved the cravings of insatiable thirst a little in this way, still craving after a hearty draught, two or three of the lightest of us being somewhat refreshed, commenced climbing for young nuts, which are easily opened, some of which contain a pint and some a quart and more of unequalled beverage; and now the reader may believe, to use the sea term, that "we carried on, on all top ropes;" which just reminds me of a laughable expression of one of the men, who having a nut of rather too

great a draught for him, clapping his naked buff, sings out, "hold on good belly!" as though full and not satisfied. The fact is, we had no command of ourselves, so that when we got free access to the delicious juice we knew not how to desist, but greedily embraced the welcome draught, which poured in willing streams down our parched throats; but here we can but notice the over-ruling hand of Providence, which demands our most grateful thanks for restraining us, for could we have had free access to the juice, or have found water, in the first instance, I fear it would have proved fatal to some of us, and hurtful to all; but he who had hitherto chastised us as rebellious subjects, now deals with us as sons; and, as an able physician, with a parent's tenderness, administers to us, as children, the soothing balm with a sparing hand, when as yet we had no government of ourselves.

Having all well refreshed ourselves, we went down to the beach and hauled the boat up into the bush, lest it should be discovered by the natives, should there be any, having reason to fear, for we had already seen bush paths. We then erected a tent for the night, with our sail and the branches of cocoa-nut trees, on a spot protected from the weather by the bushes and trees surrounding us; this done, having a supply of cocoa-nuts for the night, with a heart full of gratitude for past deliverances, we committed ourselves to the protection of him who neither slumbers nor sleeps. Having thus

cast our care upon God, it may be admitted, we did not want rocking to get to sleep, as we had had no rest since we left the wreck, saving a few minutes broken sleep now and then when weary and overcome. We therefore slept pretty sound till about two or three o'clock, when, I believe, most of us were up again drinking cocoa-nuts, for our thirst was not abated, and hunger now became pressing.

September 16: After a tolerable night's rest, at day light, offered up prayers to God, to direct and protect us through the day, and having no provision, but cocoa-nuts, most of us went out, in small foraging parties, after food and water, while the lame, the sore, and fatigued, whose feet were severely cut when cast upon the rocks, lay by the camp. Observed the sun's meridional altitude, and found the latitude to be $19^{\circ} 55'$ south. About noon, one party brought in two bunches of bananas, and another, some shell fish, but which were principally soldier crabs: these were a hearty welcome, although they were accompanied with sauce of an ill savour—*unfavourable news*; which was, that there must be natives on some part of the island. Yesterday we had seen bush paths, but the island being apparently so very small, and seeing no smoke on any part of it, we supposed rather that canoes had merely touched here for refreshment on their passage to other islands: but to-day they had fallen in with cleared ground, regular plantain walks, and

yam grounds, a certain sign of natives; and, consequently, if we remained here two or three days, as we had proposed, to refresh, we should be sure to be discovered: but, at present, it was impossible for us to venture again to sea as we were; the strongest of us being but in a weakly state, and we were without water, of which, as yet, we had found none; we were, therefore, compelled to submit to our fate, be what it would: "behold, the lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord."

Having procured fire, by means of the reading glass of a sextant held to the sun, we dressed our food, by roasting the plantains, and stewing our shell fish in another very large clamp-shell, the size of a baking dish, of which there were several upon the beach: and, having somewhat appeased our appetites with these, we proceeded to the bush again after young nuts; but the trees, in general, being so very lofty, from sixty or seventy feet and perhaps to a hundred, without a branch, we were led to very impolitic means; which was to fell the highest trees bearing the most nuts; we accordingly set to with our boat axe, and, in less than an hour, we felled one, with all its treasures, to the ground. We had now another feast, for some of these trees bear at one time fifty or sixty large nuts fit for use, to say nothing of smaller ones, which are ever increasing as others ripen and fall off; so that there is a continual harvest of cocoa-nuts all the

year round; and, what is more, they grow spontaneous, and are as common almost as the weed beneath them in all the South Sea islands, where they need neither planting, nor attending to, for the old nuts which fall from the trees take root of themselves, and thus, as they roll from the fall, the whole of the islands would literally be so many groves of cocoa-nut trees, if not prevented, while thousands upon thousands, in the lesser, and uninhabited islands, are left to decay at the bottom of the trees. As for the various uses which every part of the cocoa-nut tree is put to, I believe it would fill a volume, to speak of this greatest blessing to mankind in these parts. In short, it is meat, drink, and clothing; the houses are built of it, and the canoes not without it—oil is extracted from it—the dried branches serve for candles—and rope is made of it, as well as combs, fans, and baskets: in a word, there is, I believe, not any thing made, that is made by these natives, nor scarcely any kind of composition, where two articles are required, but the cocoa-nut, or some part of this invaluable tree, is called in question.

But, to proceed, having carried our booty, the spoils of the fallen tree, down to the camp, and returned to the bush to commence upon a second operation, we had scarcely begun before we heard cries of strange voices, indicating alarm and threatening! A party of the natives, lying in ambush,

had rushed suddenly upon our camp, with clubs, spears, bows and arrows; and, seeing but one or two of our party there, ran about in all directions, hallooing and vociferating to each other; at which, we, in the bush, all squatted down, creeping along under the thickest bushes, towards the tent, to discern if possible what was going forward. Presently I saw a naked savage pass me with a club and spear in his hand, hallooing, I knew not what, to his companions, who all seemed to be within hail—In looking round me, not one of our people could I see, but the sail maker, who, pale and trembling, beckoned me to lie still, for I was in the rear of him. From the general character of the Fegee islanders, as before hinted, such a terror was struck into us, as hardly to be conceived, expecting to be knocked down with a club, or butchered the moment they should discover us; and, raising ourselves a little upon our knees, we implored mercy of him, “without whom not a sparrow falls;” and we felt somewhat more reconciled to our fate, in the remembrance, “that he who turneth the hearts of kings, as he turneth the rivers of waters,” could overrule the hearts of these savages according to his own wisdom.

I now saw two or three of the savages beating the bushes, and stooping down to examine more minutely: their appearance spoke every thing but good: they were entirely naked, saving as much covering as would barely hide indecency, while

their countenances, under a head of hair, some of them as bulky as a large thrum mop, indicated much agitation. Presently afterwards, creeping along to get a sight of what was doing about the camp, we heard some of our people calling out to us to come forward, that they would not hurt us: upon this, we crept from our retreat, and, as we advanced towards our tent, we met one of the savages, who made signs for me to give him a cap I had on, which I felt pleased in giving him, considering it a token of friendship, as he did not offer to take it by force: he then made signs for me to advance, while he went in search of others.

Having come to the tent, we found our people had all gone down to the boat, and L—, in tears, crying, “what were they going to do with us.” The natives had already collected every thing they could find about the camp, and had brought the spoils down to the boat to divide amongst them. One had a small tooth comb stuck in his beard; another, his arms through the legs of a pair of drawers; a third, a jacket buttoned up behind; a fourth, a shirt the hinder part before, and another had the broken ring of our boat lantern on his arm; and, thus ludicrously adorned, they seemed to rejoice in a conquest over us.

Some of them had seen muskets, and made signs to us to that purpose; at this we endeavoured to make them sensible, we had been obliged

to throw them overboard: but they were not easily satisfied, and took two or three of our party with them into the bush towards the tent, and made signs to show where they were hid, but this was in vain, as we had none. They yet appeared dissatisfied, and waited a considerable time consulting. We made signs to them that we wanted food, and, to our astonishment, one of them walked or rather with his hands clasped round the tree, leaped by short springs to the top of one of the highest cocoa-nut trees and threw down as many cocoa-nuts as we needed: and afterwards, with the greatest ease imaginable, by means of a stake with a pointed top drove in the ground, husked one in less than a minute, which, at that time, would have taken one of us a quarter of an hour to do with a good knife: this proved a very useful lesson to us many times since. For, although we never attained the native art of climbing the trees, yet we did of husking and breaking the nuts.

The natives, about twenty in number, having kept us in suspense about an hour, appeared to be at a loss how to dispose of us, or our things, which gave us to suspect they were a party come upon us unknown to the generality of the inhabitants, and wanted only to plunder us: but about this time some of them had been and procured yams and plantains, which we did not then see, and a blazing fire was soon kindled. The native manner of pro-

curing fire, among all the South Sea islanders is, by splitting a piece of dry stick, and rubbing the pointed end of one part, against the flat or split side of the other; the friction caused by this motion will soon produce as much fire as by striking upon tinder, which carefully gathered into a dry leaf, among other dry rubbish, is soon blown into a flame. This also proved an invaluable lesson to us afterwards.

The natives, having shown no hostile feelings towards us, we felt some ground of hope, that we had got among friends; but our hopes and fears were alternate, and of short duration: for, at an unsuspected moment, three or four of the savages came and laid hold of Mr. Garret, and led him away a few paces from the party, and began to examine him: first they opened his bosom, then pulled off his jacket and waistcoat; and, lastly, stripped him to the skin: so that from the large fire blazing up at this instant, while we could see nothing to cook, and from the barbarous character of the Feejee islanders, this struck a terror into the mind of every one of us, that we really felt as though they were going to butcher him, and that instead of getting among friends, we were among cannibals. Good heavens! thought I, have we escaped so many dangers, to be devoured at last by cannibals, from whence not a soul can escape, *to tell what has become of us?* (this, the fear of the intelligence of my death never reaching

my family, was even a greater prey upon my mind, than the fear of death itself,) but these fears were but momentary, hope and fear succeeding each other, and presently our minds were relieved from these truly melancholy fears, by finding that it was *his shirt* they wanted, which, as they had espied buttoned up upon him, under his upper clothing, they thought, perhaps never having seen an European before, that he had taken this method, to conceal it from them: they therefore divested him of this, as they thought, hidden vesture, being covetous admirers of all kinds of striped calicoes and printed linens, but returned him his jacket and waistcoat, which were woollen, and of little service in these hot climates, or, indeed, any thing else as clothing, which is like putting them in irons to fit them. All they wanted of this kind, was for show and ornament to hang loosely upon them. But all kinds of edged tools, are more valuable than gold, or precious jewels.

It was now that we discovered there was a large hole about three feet in diameter dug in the earth, in which the fire had been made, and which hole was lined over the whole surface with stones, which became thoroughly heated by the fire; and having thrown out the ashes, the natives covered the stones, or rather the surface of the oven, with leaves, and then threw in the yams and plantains, and spread leaves again over them; and, lastly,

filled up the vacuum with rubbish, and covered the whole with loose earth, which completely buried the contents. This is a native oven, and retains a very powerful heat, sufficient to cook the largest hog entirely whole. It may very properly be called a steam oven, as the contents are rather steamed by the confined vapours arising from the aliment itself, than by the scorching heat of the stones. Fish, fowls, and even native soups, such as arrow-root, &c., tied up in plantain leaves, which answer the purpose of saucepans, are cooked after this manner; for they have no kind of cooking utensils that will contain water: the yams, plantains, bread-fruit, fish, fowls, &c., are occasionally roasted by laying upon hot ashes.

While the yams and plantains were cooking, the natives were greedily searching after things which they supposed we had hidden. Some of them discovered that we had pockets, and would come, as if to discourse, and sit down or lay beside us, which was only to feel about our clothing; and when they felt any thing hard, would not rest till they got it from us; so that they completely plundered us of every useful article, though they might not know the use of it themselves; thus we had neither knife, comb, razor, scissors, needles, or thread, now left us. But there was one thing I particularly noticed: a chief wanted our sail, which was made fast to the mast; he had a knife in his hand, and I made signs to him to cut the

stops, when he artfully made motions for me to cut them: this was a scheme to see if I would pull out a knife he thought I had secreted about me; or from policy, for it appeared they were forbidden by the old king who had sent them, not to take any thing from us by force, as he afterwards compelled them to return us our chronometer, compass, and sextant, which they had artfully kept concealed from him, he being very infirm and unable to crawl out of his hut.

The yams and plantains being ready, they made signs for all to sit round, and then served to each of us a portion equal to themselves. The fear of being killed by them was now entirely removed, for however they had stripped us of what might be ornamental, or useful, as edged tools, &c., yet this was excusable in a set of naked savages, but few of whom had ever seen, or scarcely heard of white people, and to whom an axe is of more value than one hundred times its weight in gold, and where a common knife is invaluable.

We had been detained now nearly an hour on account of the cooking, and having eaten our fill, the natives began to think about making a move. We pleaded hard by signs, for the compass, sextant and chronometer, knowing they could be of no real service to them; but these poor ignorant savages seemed to plead no less hard for them, and to convince us they had use for them, made signs that they wanted the shade vanes, or coloured

glasses of the sextant, and the machinery of the time-keeper* for ornaments and trinkets; and thus, with the other things they had taken from us, they slung them over their shoulders, making signs for us to follow them.

We now set out for our new habitations, conjecturing every thing which may be imagined in minds so perplexed as ours relative to our present distressing situation.—No ship, but in case of necessity,† would venture to come within leagues of the island, on account of danger—the natives had taken possession of our boat, sail, and oars; and although hereafter we might be able to steal them away in the night, we should hardly find a passage out over the reef: even if we did, we had neither compass nor provisions. And, as if to add misery to these reflections, a somewhat forbidding looking fellow had espied that I had on a striped shirt, and making the sail-maker pull off his n^o. 1 canvas frock, as stiff as a tarpawling, gave it to me, making signs that he wanted my shirt, which I felt compelled to give up in return.

Now we were going we knew not where; nor whether we should be treated as friends, or intruders, or slaves for life; or in what manner we should (if ever) escape, and be restored to our

* These articles were worth one hundred pounds sterling at Sydney, and to us now were invaluable, if at liberty to go.

† On our arrival at the village, we found that the supporters of the king's hut, was part of a vessel which had been wrecked here; how long ago we could not learn, but supposed it to have been an American, as they often repeated the word *Amelicana*.

families and friends. Such was the substance of our thoughts and conversation by the way ; yet, blessed be God, under all these distressing circumstances I was encouraged to believe our very miraculous deliverance from the wreck, and wonderful preservation thus far, were grounds of hope “that he who had thus far delivered us, would yet deliver, and finally accomplish in us the work he had begun.”

To proceed, we walked some distance along the sea coast, partly on a sandy beach, and partly over craggy rocks, very painful to those who were bare footed ; we then took to a bush path, and a little after dark arrived at the capitol, (consisting of about sixteen huts), and took up our lodgings at the king’s, or principal chief’s habitation, who is an aged man, of venerable appearance, and much afflicted in his feet. Here we found Lewis, who had gone on before, jabbering with the natives : “we were going to live high life below stairs, for fowls he had seen in abundance, and pigs that would not enter through the door-way.”

We had not been long seated before the hut was crowded with faces which we had seen. Hence, instead of a party of the natives, as we had supposed, they were the whole island which had rushed in upon us at the beginning, and these were a pest to us the greater part of the night, asking a thousand questions which nobody understood but L—, who interpreted nothing but good, and good things yet to come, or rather what were to be wished for,

as he had no knowledge of the language. We were thus kept awake all the fore part of the night, and roused again from our slumbers long before day. But, before we closed our eyes, we offered up prayer to the God of heaven upon our knees, in the presence of the heathen, and so also in the morning outside the hut, before we strolled or straggled away.

September 17: It was nearly noon before we got any thing to eat, and then but very little. It is true, we wandered about, two or three in parties together, but found nothing eatable, except a few mummy apples and cocoa-nuts, which lay under the trees. And the natives appeared to be as dispersed as we were, as few of them were to be seen in the village, till at about four P.M., when men, women, and children came in from all quarters, and seemed to be preparing for a general feast, or, surely, had this been eating in common, they were entitled the Epicureans of the day. We had, I think I may say, without any exaggeration, a bushel of fish, plantains, yams, and *munrii*, (in Tonga called *mā*), and fifty or sixty cocoa-nuts, already husked for us. *Munrii*, or *mā*, are a kind of forced-meat balls, or a composition made up of scraped cocoa-nuts, mashed plantains, mummy apples, bread-fruit, and other vegetable food, which, rolled up into balls, are wrapped up in leaves and baked in the native fashion, and are eaten in time of scarcity as bread in all the South Sea

islands. There are yellow and brown compositions of this kind, but neither of which an European will eat, if yams or any other bread-kind is to be had; as to an English palate, *mā* is as disagreeable as very sour bread, and has an offensive smell with it, which you may even scent as you pass the huts where it is eaten. But the *maurii* of Bittoa, the native name of this island, is preferable to the *mā* of Tongatabu; or hunger, it may be, made it appear so to us.

Having made a hearty meal, we congratulated one another that we had fallen in with such friendly people; indeed, as soon as an opportunity afforded, I could but steal away secretly into the bush, and, with a heart full of gratitude, pour out my whole soul before God, in remembrance of all his mercies to so undeserving a creature. We had now an overplus of provisions, and having been so long strangers to a meal, we were rather extravagant, for, with care, we might have had sufficient for the following day, but we scarcely left so much as would serve for breakfast; and if we did, some of our more selfish companions got up and ate or stowed it away in the night, as some of us were obliged to go without. These, indeed, were queer times, and we began to read one another in a different light than formerly:—we were all now on an equality—and, natural enough, self appears to be the predominant feature; but among so many, we must expect to find some

unprincipled men. However, it ill becomes a mess-mate to see a fellow-sufferer want, while he has enough and to spare, which I but too often painfully witnessed: but some care not who sinks, if they can but swim.

September 18: This day having closed, informs us, that if we feasted yesterday, to-day is a *fast*, with the exception of a few cocoa-nuts, which of themselves are by no means satisfying.

September 19: It may be observed here, that so long as the natives saw us all housed before dark, they did not object to our strolling about during the day. We therefore used to ramble in the woods, and on the sea coast after shell fish, or what perchance we might find. Some of our people having fallen in with a party of the natives fared sumptuously, while others fared no better than yesterday. The sail-maker and I being together in the village, were pressed very much by a principal chief and a party of the natives, to go with them into the bush; and having to pass over many rugged and craggy paths, I could but call to mind with a groan, the difference between a civil and uncivilized people, comparing the walks and parks about London and its vicinity, with these, in some parts, almost impassable rocks and thickets, which gave rise to this self-inquiry,—whether the scientific and civilized European has risen above, or the untaught islanders sunk beneath *the standard* of man after the fall? For these natives have much of old

scripture times in their way and manners. But, while contemplating these things with a broken spirit, augmented by the pinching calls of hunger, and some uneasiness as to where these all-but* stark naked savages were about to lead us, we suddenly lit upon a plantation, where they gave us some mummy apples. We passed from thence through the bush, till we arrived at the cocoa-nut tree we had fallen on the day after landing, on which another party of natives were sitting. This excited some fear, supposing they had brought us here to account for the depredation; or, having just discovered it, might fall upon us in anger; but no, they merely pointed to it, and made signs for us to show them the axe we felled it with. They then took us down to the place where our tent had been erected, and made further signs for us to produce the supposed hidden muskets, &c.; in short, more than once they feigned to knock us down with a club, but this was to no purpose, as we had hidden nothing from them, and they had already taken every thing belonging to us.

But their principal motive for bringing us here was to bring the boat round to the opposite side of the island, for, although these islanders are dexterous in the management of their canoes, yet they are totally unacquainted with boats: having, there-

* A mere strip of *tappa*, or native cloth, beaten out of the bark of the Chinese mulberry-tree, or the leaf of a banana, or branch of a cocoa tree, tied round the middle, is all their clothing.

fore, launched, our business was to pull these swarthy gentlemen according to order: after having rowed six or seven miles we hauled the boat up again into the bush, under the shade of a large spreading tree; here I have to remark, that she was so leaky, from the damage sustained when cast upon the reef, that one hand was obliged to keep bailing all the way, this was of no small concern to us, as, unless we could adopt some means to stop the leak, it would be impossible ever to put to sea again, even had we the liberty of so doing. And now, to repay us for the trouble of pulling them round, we had each a keg of water to carry on our shoulders two or three miles to our habitation.

Sunday, September 20: Having promiscuously picked up from the wreck a Common-Prayer Book, and part of a Testament; I believe most of us paid some respect to the day, as far as perusing these by turns may be considered such; but the calls of hunger forbade us once meeting together for prayer, excepting in the morning and evening, as in common. Most of our people went out with the natives as usual to their plantations, as there they commonly fared as well as the natives themselves. For myself, I was very weak from the flux, and being compelled yesterday to exert myself more than I was well able to do, I laid by fasting, and although I ate cocoa-nuts, they did not digest, which much assisted my complaint; but, blessed be God, towards evening one of the natives

who was more partial to me than others, took me up into his hut upon the rocks, and gave me fish, plantains, and munrii, as much as I need; and introduced me to his wife, mother and family, who appeared much entertained with my company, and as a token of real friendship poured scented cocoa-nut oil into my hands to anoint my head and face. May the Lord reward this poor heathen family ten thousand fold into their bosom, and may the day shortly arrive when this whole island shall hear the glad tidings of salvation to lost and perishing sinners, through the preaching of the Gospel.—Doubtless, a missionary, would find a hearty welcome here!

I will now endeavour to give a brief sketch of the island and its inhabitants, and our treatment, in a general way, during the short time we remained on it, which was eight clear days, exclusive of the day of landing, and that on which we took our departure from it; during which time I had crossed the island in different directions.

The island of Bittoa, (native name) by us called Providence, but by preceding navigators; Turtle island; lies in latitude $19^{\circ} 55'$ south, longitude by account, about 178° west; and is nearly equidistant from the Fegee and Friendly islands: it is subject to Lekimba, or Milekemba, one of the easternmost of the Fegees. The Bittoa canoes trade to Milekemba, and the natives talk very favourable of its inhabitants: and, although we

could not speak the language, yet we presently understood words signifying good and bad ;—*lelei*, *kovi*, *matte-matte*, &c. Milekemba seemed to be every thing with them ; they made us sensible that if we could get there the king would take us by the hand, and give to each of us a wife : this we understood by signs which could not well be mistaken. *Ono*, and some other islands, they said were *lelei*, good ; but the islands to the westward, it appears, would have shown us no quarter, as they said they were *matte-matte*, bad ; and made signs that they would knock us on the head.

Its extreme length from east to west is about five miles, and breadth from north to south about three ; nor do I think it exceeds sixteen miles in circumference. How much does this call for more praise to our providential Guide in conducting us to this mere speck of earth among friends, than to have suffered us to go either right or left, to other larger islands, where, by accounts from these people even, as well as from the fatal experience of former navigators, we learnt we should have been massacred, or detained either as barter for muskets, or other European goods, or for life, or years, to show them the use of fire-arms, &c.—For, however favourably these people spoke of Milekemba, it is certain that the Feejee islanders generally are a murderous race.

Bittoa, like most of the islands in these seas, is entirely surrounded by a dangerous reef. It has

the appearance of a snug little island, and is moderately high ; and a few scattered rocks covered with verdure, as is the whole island, with here and there some few very high cocoa-nut trees towering above the rest, make it very picturesque. The reef forms an excellent break-water to a fine canal between it and the island, which abounds with fish, which the natives spear with great dexterity ; and, at low water, the reef is a reservoir for shell fish, to which the women swim over and gather them into heaps, while the children, in small canoes for the purpose, (if they deserve the name, not being much better than a plank,) convey to the shore supplies for one or two days ; for the women, who do not exceed twenty on the island, do not go every day after fish, being commonly employed in making *tappa*, or native cloth.

Labour, or manual exercise, is an entire stranger in Bittoa, the natives being unanimously determined to forbid him a landing ; for the building a canoe, or the erecting a hut, clearing a patch of ground from weeds, planting a few yams or banana-trees, and making *sennit*, or small rope, I believe to be the whole of their work ; and all a man will do of husbandry in one day, is to dig five or six holes, and plant as many yams or young trees : and this I have witnessed in different individuals when going out with them in the bush ; to which, if there was any distance to go, it always answered our purpose to accompany them, for then we were

sure to get into good quarters; for, as these people are averse to labour, so a little work goes a great way, they being much more earnest in providing for the present, than the future: hence the principal part of the time is occupied in looking out for the belly, and cooking, and this exactly coincided with our condition. And, calling to mind the *munrii*, or *mā*, which the natives are obliged to eat principally about three months in the year, as a substitute for plantains, yams, and bread-fruit; I must acquiesce in the common character of the islanders generally, *that they are indolent*; as, with very little trouble, they might plant as much in one year, as would serve three, since the greater part of the island lay waste and uncultivated.

The few days I remained here, will not allow me to give much of a detail. I imagined that the island had not been long inhabited,* as the natives did not exceed sixty, women and children included. They seem to have all things common among them, saving that each family has its separate hut and plantation ground. And, although they are composed of families from different islands, they appear to be a happy and

* Since my return home, I have seen Captain Dillon, the discoverer of the fate of La Perouse, who informed me that he landed there, and left a breed of pigs, fowls, and Muscovy ducks,—and that there were then, in 1826, but eight or ten natives on the island.

united people.* Still they were not without their troubles, being obliged to be in continual preparation to act upon the defensive against aggressors: and, in this, like a wise people, half their little city is built among the munition of rocks,† nearly a hundred feet above the level of the common surface of the ground; and where nature has been wanting to fortify it, art has doubly strengthened it with huge stones, which not only serve as barriers against the spears and arrows of the enemy, but as destructive weapons when thrown down upon the invaders.

I rarely went up into this part of their capitol without being reminded of ancient history. In short, there is much in the manners, customs, and ways of this people, which realizes to view, what

* It is observed, that this island is peopled from other islands. It may be further remarked, that it is no new thing for South-seamen to pick up large canoes at sea, with whole families in them. Captain Brind, of the ship *Toward-Castle*, picked up a large canoe, three hundred miles from land, with nineteen persons on board, consisting of aged sires and grandmothers; sons, daughters, and grandchildren, just upon the point of famishing. They knew not where they were, nor whither they were going. Captain B. took them on board, and carried them to *Kingsmill Group*, from whence it appeared they had either drifted, or taken their departure, in quest of a new country: and, in this way, doubtless these islands become inhabited: and while it accounts for that sameness of manners, dress, customs, and dialect, of all the different islanders in the South Seas, it reflects much sympathy, in behalf of the many poor suffering adventurers, who, after being tossed and driven about, they know not whither, at last are either ingulphed in the broken wave, or fall a prey to insatiable thirst.

† This eminence was our rendezvous, where we commonly passed our time on the look-out for ships, having a full view of the sea to the southward of the island.

the mind before had but a partial conception of. In the present instance we realize the fortification of Thebes, where a woman cast down from the wall a piece of mill-stone upon the skull of Abimelech and killed him. In New South Wales we have witnessed the manner in which different tribes, at war with each other, hold converse together, as David and the Philistines, Shemei and David, &c., on different summits, in the plains and on opposite sides of the river. There are also other similies which I shall note in their places, as such like similitudes have many times occupied my attention with no little gratification, even in this distant and almost unknown island.

On Saturday evening, the 19th, which I should have mentioned before, the natives favoured us with a dance round a blazing fire. It consisted principally of gestures, and appeared to be a combination of graces, mimicry, wooing, and a kind of adorations conformable to the different songs they sang on these occasions: the whole was very pleasing, and maintained with particular good humour, and was certainly an act of great courtesy and condescension on their part, as well as a convincing proof that they had no ill-will towards us: but this was no ground of trust; not that I believe they would have harmed us from a savage principle; but, when we reflect on the superstition of the heathen, where is safety among them? The very turn up of a dream of the king,

or a principal chief, or spirit-man, would have sacrificed every one of us: or such even might be brought about by an ill-minded individual amongst them, who should feign dreams to correspond with his malicious ends; and these thoughts did not add a little to my grievances, for there were one or two men of very forbidding appearance. But self-preservation, blinded by superstition, would be the only stimulus to tempt this people to acts of violence; at least, I am induced so to believe.

The old king was a worthy character, and deserves the highest praise. Had he not been so helpless, no doubt but we should have retained all our things, excepting what we chose to give away; but being unable to crawl out of his hut, the subordinate chiefs took the advantage of his infirmity, as there seemed to be a strict law against theft; for when we made the king sensible, by signs, that they had taken away our chronometer, sextant and compass from us, helpless as he was, he showed his supreme authority, and calling one of the natives, desired him to bring a plantain leaf, on which he laid, in order, a beautiful large pearl-shell four or five inches in diameter; the man went away with it, and in four or five minutes produced them to us. The days of the venerable old chief, I fear, are too far gone to derive any benefit from the English Government. He has no doubt been a long time in the state he now is; the nails of his great toes having completely

grown over the ends of them, and form a cap or covering for the end of the toe, while his venerable grey beard reached down to his waist, the lower part being completely matted.

Head-dresses.—The hair of the women, and principally of the elder men, is short, and turned upwards from all parts of the head, and is particularly neat: the hair of the young men, chiefs especially, somewhat resemble a judge's dress wig in front, but more full and bushy, projecting about three or four inches from ear to ear over the fore part of the head, and being well drenched with cocoa-nut oil, which, hanging in small particles, gives it the appearance of a hoar frost on frizzed whiskers, or a half powdered wig; while the hinder part, not so much drawn out, is of a jet black. Others, again, have the hair parted in front, drawn out in a frizzed or wiry form all round; and this head, when dressed, would not go into a bushel measure, as this shock of hair projects beyond the shoulders, and is at least eighteen inches in width, and in general remarkably clean: they are particularly careful of it; and, I suppose, it must take an hour or two dressing, which is commonly a woman's work, and is performed with a tortoise-shell pin, or skewer, a foot long, which, after dressing, is worn in the hair, and serves both as an ornament and an instrument to correct a part that irritates. They are very angry if you touch this Saracen of theirs, though it be by

accident: previous to laying down at night, or when at work, it is carefully inclosed in fine tapper; so that once dressed, it will retain its form some days. Those who wear the hair short, or not exceeding an inch in length, once a week, or fortnight, make a sort of cement of a yellow or red loam, mixed up with cocoa-nut oil, with this they plaster the head for a day and wash it off the next; this not only keeps the hair clean, but preserves it in proper form erect towards the poll; some of the young female chiefs have a lock hanging in ringlets on each side, and some few (I rather think of a higher class) wear it long altogether, which, as it is thick and of a jet black, gives them an imaginary eve-like appearance! but, in general, it is rather straight than curly: the hair of some few is brown, and hangs in bushy curls all over.

Dresses.—The men have, in common, a mere strip of white tapper or native cloth, tied very close round the middle. In addition to this, the young chiefs have sometimes a yard extra suspended behind trailing on the ground. The women have a kind of apron made of the plantain, banana, or cocoa-nut leaf; and, on certain occasions, they appear with garlands of sweet scented flowers and beads, (if they have any) hanging loosely round the neck, and an apron made of a sort of creeping small leaved vine intermixed with garlands of flowers; this has a very pretty and innocent

appearance, and very interesting, as it reminds us of the state of our first parents who made themselves aprons of fig leaves.

Religion.—I observed nothing particular: neither altar nor sacrifice: but our old chief, on the day previous to our quitting the island made a sort of incantation in our favour, by spinning round a cocoa-nut two or three times, muttering at the same time a few words, concluding with *lelei Tongataboo*, as much as to say we should arrive safe at Tonga.

This island is an open door at once to the Fegees, and there is little doubt but the low ebb in which religion, or spirit worship, of any kind is here, that these people would willingly embrace the Gospel; and, although there is no harbour for shipping, yet, if there be an entrance any where between the reefs, small vessels might ride with the greatest safety in a channel, as smooth as a mill-pond, between the reef and the island: and, though an island so thinly inhabited can be of little worth of itself, yet having trade to Milekemba and other islands, Bittoa, or Turtle island, might be an introduction to all the Fegees; and who knows how great a fire this little spark may kindle? I am willing to hope our very providential landing here, may one day terminate in a business of much greater importance than our preservation.

Climbing and Swimming, are arts natural to these islanders. The climbing the cocoa-nut tree I have already described in page 46; this is per-

formed with such ease and indifference, that if in the least fatigued, or one speaks from below to the person ascending, he immediately halts, or rests upon his heels, half up the tree, as unconcerned as if he were on a stool below. In Tonga I once saw a man climb a tree, I suppose a hundred feet to the lowest branch, and threw down a cocoa-nut against two others who were to run a certain distance and return. He beat them both.

Swimming also, is another indispensable art among them; hence the children in these islands, not as in Europe where they are taught to fear the water and not to go near it, are encouraged in it, and their mothers take them daily to wash; and, at two years old, with a hoard of others, of all ages, they may be seen paddling in and out, sunning themselves upon the beach like a shoal of young seals.

Diseases.—There is a native disease here, which appears to be common to all the South Sea islanders, and to add to this affliction they have no means of curing it themselves, hence it is left to chance. Five or six men were in a shocking state; I cannot compare it but to the sores on a horse's hide, in some cases as large as a man's hand. It commonly breaks out in dry sores the size of shillings and half-crowns, and like most scrofulous diseases, it is considered favourable to have it in infancy; when, by continual washing and keeping clean from flies, it either wears off, or if not, it becomes incurable

by native art. In some cases, which I saw, the sinews of the legs were drawn up, where the joints were affected; in others, two inches of bone were eaten entirely bare by the flies, hundreds of which were then feeding upon the corrupted flesh, while the *patient*, (a name so very appropriate in the present instance) who, either from superstition, or so callous and accustomed to this plague, or pest of mankind, in these parts, either does not feel them, or is so unconcerned that he walks about as indifferent as though little or nothing ailed him.

But I may observe here, that this disease, however bad, is not beyond the art of healing; as, in Tonga, the missionaries have effected several cures by salivating; which cures have, under God, been the effective means of drawing heathen to embrace the Gospel.

The small pox also is prevalent here. I saw it upon a woman and two or three children; and, if I remember right, I have seen persons marked by it.

These are all the particulars I have been able to call to mind during our short stay at Bittoa, saving that the fruits and bread-kind here are common to all the islands in tropical climates. The description of this island has made a break in the narrative, but referring the reader back to the last date, Sunday 20th, he will thence accompany us through further trials, to the end of our journey. It was to-day then, while a party of us were sitting on

the 'look-out, contemplating our escape, that we found ourselves rather a burden than a service to these people; we therefore agreed to try our old friend, the good old king, and to endeavour to make him sensible that if he would let half of us go, we would return in a ship, and bring muskets, beads, prints, and axes, in payment for their kindness, while the other half should remain as hostages till our return. Accordingly, in the evening, we divided ourselves into two parties, and having picked up a few words, we made them understand our wishes: this was the very thing they wanted, and from that hour they never let us rest till we appointed a day.

September 21 and 22: Wind S.E.: getting better, I went with a party of the natives to the bush, the only means now of getting any thing to eat, and in this I was not disappointed; but nothing particular transpired these two days more than ordinary.

Wednesday, September 23: Wind chopped round to the westward. We agreed to go; and told the chief that we must have the sail and oars belonging to the boat, and cocoa-nuts, ready to depart on the morrow. At this a general feast was made, similar to that on the 17th, all rejoicing in anticipation of soon being in the possession of the good things we had promised to send them. There was every man and boy employed in bringing cocoa-nuts, yams, and plantains, upon sticks, on their shoulders, while the women were out upon the

reef after shell-fish; add to which, our friend, the good old king, ordered a pig to be killed and dressed ready to take with us: in short, they could do no more for us, unless they returned our axe and a knife, which, in conscience, we could neither expect nor ask for, after such tokens of kindness from mere savages, who, indeed, had taken nothing from us, but what we should have been obliged to give in barter for the food we needed. So much charity from persons buried in ignorance and superstition, and who, in some instances, seemed to court one's friendship, could but draw from our inmost souls, in plaintive sighs, tears of gratitude to that most good and gracious Benefactor who had brought us hither: and, again, I felt constrained to withdraw myself to give vent to my heart, in pouring out my soul before God, intreating his blessing upon this people, and his further guidance and protection the remainder of our journey.

To-day it was agreed upon who were to go in the boat, and who to remain on the island; and, fortunately, without dispute, or lot, every man had his choice. I must confess, I had as great an aversion to an open boat at sea as any, while I know not what impelled me onward, but being the only one of the party to direct what course to steer, I could not refuse that part of my duty which I owed to all hands, as upon the

safety of the boat's arrival at Tonga, depended the deliverance of those who remained on the island. Again, I took the sun's meridional altitude, and found the latitude of the south side the island to be $19^{\circ} 55'$ south, agreeing with the observation taken on the 16th. The carpenter patched up the boat by nailing strips of tin of our broken lantern over the stove part of it.

September 24: In the morning we collected every thing down to the sea beach, and having launched the boat, and got the things on board, we all kneeled down upon the shore and prayed, the natives surrounding us: and having committed ourselves to him, who "gathereth the winds in his fists, and holds the waters in the hollow of his hand," we took our friendly farewell, leaving some of our fellow sufferers in tears, who now feign would have accompanied us; but our conclusion of yesterday was unalterable; we therefore hasted into the boat, leaving with them the Prayer Book and New Testament, trusting that we should soon be where we could get others, or we should have no farther occasion for them.

There were now eight of the fifteen remaining on the island, and seven in the boat. The tide had been ebbing about half an hour, and there appeared to be a small part of the reef over which the sea did not break, where we attempted a passage and got safely over: but this being the north side

of the island, and our course lay to the southward, it was therefore past noon before we got round the reef, or clear of the land.

September 25: Being, as we supposed, in the latitude of Tonga, at about seven A.M., stood to the eastward. At noon, observed the sun's meridional altitude, and found the latitude to be $20^{\circ} 40'$ south: calm, and excessively hot: lay panting under the thwarts, for the want of a breath of wind to cool us, till towards sun set: during which time the boat lay like a log upon the water. Towards evening, pulled a little, supposing to have made six miles southing from noon till nine P.M.; and from nine till midnight, pulled about nine miles south; we then lay upon our oars and slept till day light, being all well fatigued.

September 26: Calm till about five A.M., when a light breeze sprung up: ran about six miles farther south; and again, supposing to be in latitude of Tonga, ran east for twelve hours at two miles per hour; and from seven P.M. till five A.M., ran east at about four miles an hour. It was a very threatening night; but, by the mercy of God, we had more rain than wind.

Sunday, September 27: From five A.M. till noon, made about seven miles easting: latitude, by observation, $21^{\circ} 24'$ south. There had evidently been a strong southerly current, or bad steerage, during the night: the latter most likely was the case, as it was impossible to make out the course we

were steering, within a point or two each way, it being so very dark, all we could see were the cardinal points; and there being no glass to the compass, which we were obliged to keep covered with a bit of canvas, when this was lifted up at one corner to see how we were steering, if not very careful, the card would spin round like a whirligig; and, as in running on a parallel of latitude, a correct course was the material point to be depended on, our compass glass being broken was a great hinderance to us, even by day in the finest weather; thus, as on the 25th, when we expected we were in the latitude of Tonga, we were twenty-eight miles to the northward of it; so to-day, to our mortification, we found we were sixteen miles to the southward.

It was now a start calm, and we had scarcely a breath of wind out of the heavens all day: melting with heat, we were not able to row. From noon to eight P.M., supposed to have made about eight miles northing. To-day I would not tell Lewis the latitude till he had given up all authority, on account of last night's conduct, in running the boat contrary to our wishes, for approaching as we were to Tonga, which is surrounded with reefs at some leagues distant from the shore, sailing at night now became dangerous. We now had nothing to eat but coconuts, and were obliged to be very sparing with our water, of which we had but a small tub, and a boat-keg, when we left Bittoa. Many birds hovering about cheered us a little.

September 28: From eight P.M. of yesterday, till about five A.M. this morning, ran E. by N. and E.N.E. at two miles an hour; and from five till about noon N.E. by E. two miles an hour, being close hauled. Saw gannets and fishermen in flocks most part of this morning: we had a fresh breeze, but a heart-breaking one, and the sea ran pretty high: gannets are a certain sign of being in the vicinity of land, and we certainly should have made Tonga to-day, though at this time we did not know it, if the wind had not headed us; but it was not so to be: God had hitherto manifested himself as our deliverer, without any help from man,—He will now, independent of human aid, show himself our preserver. About noon, we saw land, broad on the lee bow, and bore up for it: drawing towards it, it had the appearance of a very large rock, and a small, but very lofty island: as we approached nearer, we found the supposed rock to be the largest of two islands, the greater part of it being hid from our view by a prominent bluff; over it (the westernmost) were thousands of birds hovering, a certain sign there were no inhabitants. We down sail, and pulled nearly round it, but could see no place to land. We then pulled across to the easternmost, this was still more impracticable; but on the other we had seen something of a pebbly beach, though very steep; and to strike upon one of these, being of all sizes from a cobbler's lap-stone to half the size

of the boat, would settle us at once. Lewis was for laying under the lee of the island all night; this we would not agree to, and were determined to risk it, which we did; and as soon as the boat's stem touched the beach, one and all instantly jumped out, but could not get her hauled up till she was logged, the whole stern-sheets being full of water running over the gunwales, the surf at the same time washing us off our legs; so that we feared, in the dangerous position the boat lay (in an ascent of thirty or forty degrees), the whole pressure of the water being all abaft, that it would force the stern out: but, as in a case of life and death, our whole dependance being in the preservation of our boat, we encouraged one another to put all strength to it, and, after much difficulty, got her clear of the surf, over three beds of stones each three feet higher than the preceding one; and from thence to the foot of an almost perpendicular pass to the lowest summit of the island; here we turned her bottom up to screen us from the weather.

We had now been five days from Bittoa, or Turtle island, during which time we had made about one hundred miles of easting, being principally beset with calms and light winds, and, according to a rough calculation, could not be far from Tongatabu; I therefore made up my mind to run but one day more to the eastward the first fair wind, for if we could not make Tonga by

that time, I considered we must have passed it in the night, which was hardly possible upon a parallel of latitude, if we had steered any thing near the mark. Tonga is a very low island: Eooa, a neighbouring island, is pretty high.

Having scarcely turned our boat up, when looking round, we saw about half a hundred young birds, called fishermen, (by us, *wide-awakes*, from the noise they made, so nearly corresponding to the sound of the words, wide awake) which we soon knocked down, but were too weak and fatigued to kindle a fire to cook them; we, therefore, committed ourselves to God for the night, with grateful hearts for his peculiar care over us, in bringing us safe here, and lay down in some confidence that we were drawing nigh to our destined port; but the old birds, whose young we had killed, were screaming round us most part of the night.

September 29: Arose with the sun, and after prayer, a party went up the hill in search of cocoa-nuts, &c., while others kindled a fire below, and dressed the birds we killed the preceding evening. In about two hours the party returned loaded with cocoa-nuts and birds, but had seen no water; yet so favourable was their report, that overjoyed with success, some said they would live and die here. Having partook of a hearty breakfast, all but two who remained below to cook, made a second excursion, and returned with equal success. Observed the sun's meridional altitude, and found the latitude to be 20° 33' south.

September 30: Went, as yesterday, after fresh supplies, which, through mercy, were always ready at hand; and, that we might waste nothing, we brought down only so much as would serve for the day, viz: about eight or ten cocoa-nuts a man, and eighteen young birds each, or six a meal. The birds were about the size of young pigeons, but being sea-fowl, were obliged to be skinned and soaked preparatory to roasting, which was done by spitting them on sticks laid across upon other sticks, raised upon crutches a convenient distance above the fire: they were commonly very fat and sweet. The milk of the nut was our common beverage, which we ever esteemed a luxury; and, whether from the heat of the season, or that the remembrance of our past sufferings urged us, I know not, but we always drank our quantum, though we did not eat more than half the nut, which was our substitute for bread. I believe the want of salt never once bethought us.

Our camp was somewhat picturesquely situated, with a barrier or perpendicular height behind; the other island, and channel between, in front; and a sea view right and left: the island bearing N.E. of us, distant one mile.

October 1: Passed this day in making different tours round the island.

October 2: Soon after early rising, as some of our men were yawning over the boat, they saw land bearing N. by E., by compass, distant seven or eight leagues; this unexpected sight from the foot of

the hill, quite surprised us that we had not seen it before from an eminence whither we had been daily. Ascended the hill, and found it to be two distinct islands, one directly in a line with the other: that there were two, was evident, from the nearer or longest island cutting the other into two parts, whose summit, in the form of a cone or sugar loaf, rose three times the height of the nearest island. We had now surely got among the group of the Friendly islands; but Tonga was to the southward, and possibly may be seen from some of the upper heights on the opposite side, for which we should now keep a look-out.

October 3: Took a route entirely through the bush to the S.E. side of the island: fell in with a fine cocoa-nut valley, and erected a hut with the branches of trees not far from the cliff. Numerous scorpions here; scarcely could we break a piece of rotten wood but some would crawl out, and sometimes centipedes.

Sunday, October 4: Wind E.S.E. as hitherto.

October 5: Rain: wind as yesterday.

October 6: To-day we all took up our residence at cocoa-nut valley, except Lewis, who would not sleep away from the boat.

October 7: Wind E. by S.; being very clear to the southward, which was rarely the case, saw two islands, bearing S.E. and S.S.E., distance about fifteen or sixteen leagues. I concluded they could be no other than Tongatabu and Eooa: for,

although we had neither book nor chart, I felt positive it must be them; as it would be impossible for us to see Pilstart; and Savage island I knew lay far to the eastward of the group. It may be asked, that without book or chart, how I ascertained the latitude?—having saved an epitome from the wreck, which was afterwards broken to pieces and defaced by the salt water, I carefully secured the tables of the sun's declination.

October 8: Wind S. by E.: seeing L—, truly miserable, going down to the boat alone as usual every evening, I agreed to accompany him, although wherever he was there was misery. A hundred times a day did not excuse him harping upon *Tongatabu*; it was sauce with bitter herbs to all our meals, and there was no comfort where he was: he would go weeping and crying with a most bitter cry alone from the tent to the camp, and from the camp to the tent; it was really distressing to see him. I thought it, therefore, more charitable to be a sharer of his miseries, than to sympathize with him in his absence: I had previously spoken to him on the subject, but to no purpose; and from this day I always accompanied him.

In our walk along the cliff up to cocoa-nut grove this morning, discovered a dangerous sunken rock or reef to the south east in the wake of the channel, between the two islands, or rather a little to the southward and westward of the channel, distance about three miles from Bird island, or Hongahapa, seen only

at low water: remarked it to one or two who were with me, but some time elapsing before the sea broke over it again, they said it was a whale breached, for we saw whales daily; but keeping our eyes steadfast on the spot, in about three minutes the surf broke again and ran along about half a ship's length or more, and this we all saw several times after as we walked along the cliff, which confirmed us that it was a sunken rock, and although we all saw it on different days afterwards, yet it was only at low water. Captain Deane, of the Barque Elizabeth, informed me he had been through the channel, but as this reef is not in the least visible but at low water, and the tide does not appear to rise above four or five feet, ships had better not approach within two leagues to the southward and eastward of these islands.

October 9: Wind N. and N.W. with rain: made preparations for leaving on the morrow, and each of us had a load of two dozen cocoa-nuts to carry about a mile. This was more than double our usual quantity, besides birds; and this walk along the edge of the precipice, each with as much as we could well stand under, balanced at each end of a staff across the shoulder, reminded us of the muleteers crossing the Andes.

October 10: Wind S.E. and E.S.E. with rain: our situation now became truly distressing, for we were upon an uninhabited island, most of us very weak from the flux, and all daily growing weaker:

although it must be confessed we had sufficient food, yet, as before observed, the cocoa-nut our only substitute for bread, which did not digest, rather impaired our health than strengthened us: and although we had frequently good hopes and were much cheered by seeing islands north and south of us; still there were many doubts and fears lest the south land should not be Tonga and Eooa, as expected; and even should we get on shore at Eooa, it would go hard with us, for, although a neighbouring island, yet I know Englishmen who were detained nine months there, and at last were obliged to make their escape on a plank, at the risk of their lives. Such melancholy and distressing thoughts would prey upon the mind at times, and gain such an ascendancy over the drooping spirits, as those who have not experienced the like, can only conceive of a Robinson Crusoe, forlorn, wretched, naked, and cast-away upon a desolate island, desponding of hope in the remembrance of past times and enjoyments among dearest friends and relatives, who were now perhaps mourning the loss of an affectionate husband, father, son, or brother, of whom they may have been reading, "weep sore for him that goeth away, for he shall return no more, nor see his native country."

Sunday, October 11: Wind E.S.E. Hitherto we had been used to go up daily and get our meals at cocoa-nut grove, there being no wood upon the beach: this not being agreeable in wet weather,

we took to cooking in the bush, nearly over where the boat lay, and as dry wood became scarce, we shifted our station; for, like the wild natives of New Holland, the woods were our home, parlour, and kitchen: and to-day another of the party from cocoa-nut grove joined Lewis and myself; thus our party was divided, three, and four, agreeing very friendly as visitors, but not so as tent-mates.

October 13: Wind E.S.E. Storms and rain.

October 14: The long grass and underwood being a great hinderance to our different routes through the island, we set the bush on fire, and without destroying the trees, more than scorching them a little, the fire ran up hill and down dale for nearly half a mile clearing all before it. We had now terra firma to walk upon without fear of treading upon poisonous reptiles, should there be any.

Sunday, October 18: Our friends at cocoa-nut grove paid us a visit as usual, and so far as prayer was wont to be made, we paid respect to the day. In sauntering among the rocks some of them killed a water-snake, which I skinned. These, I believe, are common to all the islands: I am not aware they are dangerous. All these reptiles will flee from man, if possible. In New Holland, where snakes are very numerous, it is in general quite accidental that a person gets bitten by them, except when treading or laying the hand upon them unawares. These are the black, the brown, the yellow, the

diamond snake, and adder, all deadly poison. The water-snake, above mentioned, is about three feet, with alternate black and white streaks.

October 21: Wind E.S.E. This, perhaps, has proved the most painful and trying day we have hitherto experienced, setting danger aside. Lewis, as usual, ascending the hill at day light, had gone up to our other party, and being on the look-out, he saw a sail: this so overcame him, that without considering the distance objects may be seen from an eminence four or five hundred feet above the level of the sea, he ran as if distracted first to one party then to the other; there and back again twice over, to opposite ends of the island. I asked how far he thought she was off?—he made answer, “just round the point, and not more than five miles;” and presently the others came down following: they also had seen her, but all they observed was, that she was standing to the north east. All this was very good, and there was no time to lose; if we did not bear-a-hand, (make haste) she would be round the point, and we should not be able to cut her off: the joy occasioned in hopes of being so unexpectedly delivered from this, to us, unknown and desolate island, had taken so great an effect upon all, as not to allow us to wait a moment to consider; for being convinced that it was a ship, we took it for granted that we should soon be along side: accordingly, we launched the boat, and in our haste stove her bad enough to keep one hand continually bail-

ing. Having launched, and got through the surf, one man had not been quick enough to jump in at the moment of her going off: this caused some confusion, as the surf beat high which obliged us to lay off at a considerable distance from the beach; but pulling under the lee of a rock which appeared somewhat smoother than common, we backed the boat in as far as we dare, and our man precipitated himself into the sea and swam safe to the boat. Having got outside the channel which separates the two islands, no ship could we see. It was just now that L— had found out his mistake, looking up to the cliff from whence he had seen the ship at first: still, if she was standing to the north east and kept on that tack till noon, we had yet a chance of seeing her from the boat; accordingly we pulled out till noon, but the sun being excessively hot, and having left fasting, our people were too faint, and as little inclined to row farther; we therefore, to use the sea term, up stick, (the mast) and away before it with a gentle breeze to the old spot. And, oh! the execrations upon poor L— from all hands, for being the cause of this wild goose chase; and there was nothing but discontent and murmuring all the passage back, which, on the part of L—, had nearly come to blows; but I did not see that he was more to blame than others who had seen the ship as well as himself: however, all of us dearly paid for it; and the first thing which happened in bringing the boat on to the beach was, that we

knocked a hole completely through her bows and stove one or two more planks: now it was *a settler with us*: and before we got her hauled up she was half full of water, and our compass, sextant, and chronometer, all afloat. Here we were, trouble upon trouble, for my own part, what with the heat of the sun, fatigue, and disappointment, I found myself very ill, and shortly after we got the boat turned up, I lay down for the night: how they fared up the hill, to morrow's log will account for.

October 22: At day light, Lewis, as usual, paid the other party a visit: for myself it was with great difficulty I got up the hill and lay down in the bush beside our fire: ate nothing all day, but craved for drink, being very feverish. At about ten A.M. Lewis returned with the news that two of the other four were unable to move or lie down, and that neither of the party could go after birds or cocoa-nuts. The two former were one entire blister all over the back, for although it arose in small pustules at the commencement, yet they soon increased till the whole back was one entire blister, while the arms and thighs were swollen almost twice their real size. The other two were partially so, but very bad, one especially about the thighs. Lewis now was the only individual that was able to do any thing to keep the rest from starving: he must now climb trees, look out for birds, and walk backwards and forwards two or three times a day. It may be observed here, that the men had

been accustomed to go without shirts, or if they had a shirt on, without trowsers; and to this they were partially seasoned; and, in this condition, they were in the boat the whole of yesterday, the sprays of the salt water keeping us constantly wet, while an almost vertical sun was pouring down upon us; the effect which these two evils together had upon their naked persons was the cause of the present distressing malady, from which none were exempt but myself and Lewis, being lightly clothed.

Our feelings upon this occasion can more easily be imagined than described; we had been disappointed of our hope, and our expectations were blasted: we were all invalids save one: our boat was stove and a piece knocked clean out of her, and we were destitute of both hammer and nails to repair her, nor had we so much as a knife among us, but what we had made out of the iron hoops, two of which we had taken off our boat kegs: add to which, just now the birds were getting scarce, and young nuts very difficult to obtain, so that we were obliged to put up with the old ones which lay at the bottom of the trees, not so palatable for drink, as to eat, and the island was destitute of water, but just after the rains.

I had commonly been used to watch events, and could but see the finger of God in this, and was confounded: it was a mystery I could not unravel. We had not only been disappointed, but rendered

infinitely worse by the undertaking: the most effectual means of ever effecting our escape had proved abortive, and such a one as might not happen again for a year or years. Had we known positively where we were, our case would have been comparatively nothing, but for want of a chart, we were like souls held in purgatory. Willingly would we have risked our hitherto faithful little boat upon the buoyant wave at the hazard of storm and danger, but the continual suspense in which we lived whether of falling into the hands of friends or enemies, of which there were twenty to one in favour of the latter, made our case truly miserable: in short, I could only compare the sight of this ship, to life held out to us without the means of obtaining it; or, literally sinking within sight of land: in stronger terms, an earthly heaven open to our view without permission to enter it: but, by the blessing of God, even this afflicting providence was not without its encouragements: as it certainly strengthened our hopes, and gave us more confidence that the land we had seen to the southward was Tongatabu or Eooa, and that this ship was beating up to it, and must have tacked, or that we should have at least seen her though we might not have been able to come up with her.

Sunday, October 25: Storms and rain. By the mercy of God, having somewhat recovered, paid a visit to our more afflicted fellow sufferers at coconut valley; by this time all, save one, had got about

by the frequent application of cocoa-nut oil to the parts affected, so that they were able to seek after birds: L— now was melancholy and desponding; and, although the strongest and most healthy, yet I believe he would have been the first to fall a victim to despair, had not Providence shortly afterwards interfered, for he was continually giving vent to his feelings in the most pitiable manner; and, in the middle of prayer, in the most plaintive tone, would whisper, “pray for a fair wind—pray for a fair wind”—this of course we always did, as well as for our companions left behind at Turtle island.

October 26: Wind N.W.: fair and fine weather. Here we were, a fair wind and no boat ready. The carpenter, with as many as were able, went down to turn her over and examine her: he said he thought he could patch her up if he could get things to do it with: fortunately our thigh board was lined with leather; this was the very thing, as it answered two purposes, the leather to cover over the stove part of the boat, and the nails with which it was fastened to nail it on with: we had now only to find a stone for a hammer, and with these he managed to patch up the hole and stove parts, but there was one timber, and two or three knees belonging to the thwarts broken, and on these much of the strength of the boat depended; but fifty or sixty miles, a distance we could see from our island, was but a trip, and

we hoped to have a fine weather passage of it; but, before we close, I will give a brief description of Bird island, as we called it, but which we found afterwards by the charts to be Hongahapa.

First then, in sighting this land from the southward and westward; the largest of the two islands appeared to be but a rock, the whole body of the island, being hid behind a bluff precipice which then fronted us, while the smallest island, or Hoongalonga, appeared to be the principal, having its extreme length fronting us; nor was it till we had pulled more than half round the pre-supposed rock, that we discovered this. In approaching towards the latter, thousands of birds were hovering about it, and many around and over us, looking down immediately upon the boat as if to inspect, or forbid by their screams the unwelcome or intruding strangers: and so near did some of them approach, that I believe had we ceased from rowing they would have alighted upon the boat, so that we might have knocked them down with a stick. It is probable that few, if any, of these birds had ever before seen a human being, for although the albatross, or cape-pigeon, are frequently seen some thousand miles from any known shore, yet birds of this kind are commonly found either within the vicinity of, or a day's flight from, the land: such are the gannet, the tropic-bird, the mutton-bird, or brown petterel, the man-of-war-hawk, the boatswain and the purr.

Strictly speaking, there is no landing place on either of the islands, but such a one, as in no case but extreme distress would a boat attempt to land: this is in a small open bay with a beach of huge and moderated sized pebbles on the N. E. side of Hongahapa, within the channel formed by Hoongalonga which bears exactly N.E. of the former.

The hill previously spoken of, at the foot of which our boat was hauled up, is about one hundred and fifty feet from the level of the sea, which for the first week we all ascended two or three times a day after wood, cocoa-nuts, and birds, and always during the month, Lewis, myself and another, once a day. Its ascent is as four, five and six points of a quadrant are to eight points perpendicular height: this will at first appear incredible, but this pass (up the hill) was composed of burnt sand, into which our feet were buried at every step, and thus, with the exception of what our feet sunk beneath the surface, we held our ground, assisted either by the help of a stick, or, as in general, climbing upon all-fours; and, at any interval we chose, if over-fatigued, we might rest; but the sun being very powerful just at this spot all the fore-noon, to attempt to rest would only be to lengthen the fatigue; we therefore rarely halted till we had gained the summit: and but for this kind of foundation, although a sandy one to walk upon, we could never have ascended this one-half, five-eighths, and three-fourths of a perpendicular,

one hundred and fifty feet high, once or twice each day, and there was not another declivity or pass up the hill, all was huge precipice and steep craggy rock: but if the going up was a picture of toil and fatigue, the coming down was no less interesting, each being laden with the spoils of the day. One rolling down his load of coconuts before him—another, with as many slung in pairs at each end of a stick across the shoulder, gliding down on his stern—a third and fourth, bringing, in dozens, the plump fishermen, the petterel, and, worse than stupid goose, the tropic-bird; while others were hurling over the cliff their scanty fare of wood.*

Hongahapa and Hoongalonga, have formerly been one volcanic mountain, and, I apprehend, the channel now between them, formed the large crater which has either exhausted itself, or the opposite sides having fallen in, the whole crater has become inundated, and of one, two distinct islands remain, separated by a channel nearly a mile broad. But I do not presume to say this was actually the case, they may have been separated by an earthquake, or it is possible may never have been united; but, be it as it may, they have either been one or two separate volcanoes, for although we did not land on Hoongalonga, yet

* There is very little timber on the island, and although full of trees yet rarely any fit to burn, the soil being so very rich and fertile, that most trees grow up amazingly quick, and are of a spongy, pithy nature, full of sap.

that it had been a volcano was visible by its burnt rocky precipices, while the principal part or much of what remains of Hongahapa proves it, there being pumice stones, congealed lava, and burnt stones and earth more or less on all parts of the island, and principally on this side next the channel.

These islands bear by compass about N.N.W. of Tongatabu, and N.W. of Eooa, distance fifteen or sixteen leagues. And south of two other islands the farthest of which is in the shape of a cone or sugar-loaf, about seven or eight leagues. They are uninhabited, and without water, excepting just after the rains. The greatest length from north to south is about an English mile, or nearly two miles to walk through the woods and along the cliff; its extreme breadth does not exceed a furlong, and, in one part, two rods. Cocoa-nuts, and a large fine looking but almost worthless fruit, called in Tonga *beka*, is very plentiful here, but the juice only is palatable, which is similar to liquorice-stick, and when the juice is sucked out of it, this answers well the purpose of a shaving brush, and is the common food of bats: the fruit of this tree was then ripe: there might be bread-fruit here, although I was not then sufficiently acquainted with the tree to know it, for this being the spring of the year, the time of fruit was not yet come, but some trees were budding.

There is neither a variety, nor a great number

of land birds: the flying fox, or large bat, seems to be the principal of the ærial tribe; these are very fond of fruit, and of sucking the juice of the *beka*, and no doubt destructive to smaller birds: the body is the colour of a fox, the head has commonly a black or dark brown streak on the top, and withal it is more bulky than a rat; the wings from the extreme point extend as much as two feet. It flies heavy, and very high when making a passage, but always towards evening, its haunts are among the trees after birds and fruit. The wings serve the purpose of feet and hands, to run among the branches, and as they have the property of folding up similar to a fan or umbrella, they serve also as a spencer or wrapper to keep them warm and dry when asleep, cleaving to the branches. These are numerous in Tonga, where they are eaten, and I believe are common in all the islands, as well as in New Holland, but I do not remember having seen any at New Zealand.

There are also cranes and owls here, and a dove of a large kind, not unlike a hen pheasant in plumage, and in flight appears nearly as large as our common hen. There is also a small bird not unlike a quail; these little things fight most desperately for a consort, and as they are frequently upon the sea shores, I have seen them half drown each other under the water; and, regardless of strangers, or as if to display their gallantry before them, will fight off and on, in this way, for half an hour.

Rats and lizards I believe are the only quadrupeds. The sea-birds I have already named: these principally lay their eggs on the grass or under the bushes, except the night hawk which makes deep holes in the earth on the slant of a hill or bank, or sides of the cliff; and being partly hawk-beaked, and voracious, will bite and scratch most furiously; while the stupid tropic-bird, nearly as large as a goose on the wing, but not larger than a fowl on the spit, will come and light close beside you, and suffer itself to be knocked on the head with a stick, without attempting to fly away: it is a white bird with red beak, and has one, and sometimes two, scarlet feathers projecting beyond its real tail, twelve or eighteen inches; we sometimes divested them of this ornamental rudder, and let them go for another day. They might justly be termed the booby. The young of these birds when skinned are full as large as the old ones; are very fat and excellent eating. The mutton-bird, and fishermen, are about the size of a fowl, and the young ones of a young pigeon. The former of these had just begun to couple a week before we left, and the latter lay in thousands about the rookery on our arrival. All these birds must be skinned. The young ones are exceedingly fat about the rump and neck. When dried, these birds savour much of red herrings; however, when fresh killed and soaked, rarely taste fishy, although they live principally upon flying fish and squid, which they commonly eject when taken.

The principal rookery of young fishermen, or wide-awakes, was on the peninsula, at the north extremity of the island, on the top of the hill previously mentioned, this being the only level spot or piece of clear ground on the island. They lay (I may say) in thousands on the grass, which we knocked down as we stood in need of, between forty and fifty, three times a day: this place also was a good look-out, having a clear view of the sea from east to west, north about, from whence we saw whales almost daily, principally hump-backs and killers. It was also our place of rendezvous at this end of the island. Here we sat in council assembly in debating affairs. Here we raised our public ebenezers, and here, in silence, or alone, doubtless *we all* poured forth our many sighs in broken accents or in plaintive or unutterable language which bespeaks the almost desponding soul.

My reader will now accompany me to cocoa-nut valley: it is entirely a bush path of our own making, three fourths of a mile up hills in different directions, and half a mile on the edge of the cliff, which is about five hundred feet above the level of the sea. Our hut here was very picturesque; conical, and well covered with the branches of the cocoa-nut and other trees, which grew here in abundance. Near to it a good fire was always kept, which we never suffered to go out, and stakes were driven down with bars and spits across ready for cooking at all hours; where, by the blessing of God, we made many hearty meals, refreshed with the juice

of the cocoa-nuts, and equipped like so many Robinson Crusoes with the skins of the tropic-birds (turned inside out) for morgasins or shoes, a stick in the hand, and a knife made of the iron hoops of our boat keg slung round our necks, and some decorated with the red plumes of the tropic-birds in their caps, we wandered about after birds or some new adventures; and, although there were very many venomous insects here, yet not one of us was injured by them; while the island itself, during our stay upon it, was literally to us a land of wine and oil flowing with milk and honey: we lived sumptuously every day, and, like Israel of old, the birds lay round about our tents, while the cocoa-nuts hung in clusters upon the trees close at hand beside our dwelling, affording us at once both meat and drink of the most nutritious kind, already sweetened and prepared by the kind hand of heaven: and, in one month during our stay here, we consumed above a thousand cocoa-nuts—the first week more than half as many young fishermen—the two following weeks an equal number of tropic birds—and the fourth and last week nearly three hundred mutton-birds: and this calculation falls somewhat short of the truth. It will be said we were Epicureans indeed, but it must be considered that we had neither bread, nor bread-kind, (plantains, yams, bread-fruit, oofies, &c.) saving cocoa-nuts; and, although upon the average, including what we drank of these in the bush when going

after them, we consumed from six to ten of these a day; it was principally on account of thirst, there being no water, which it was unnecessary to drink in a place where cocoa-nuts were so abundantly supplied.

Having given a general description of the island, I now hasten to conclude this first and principal part of my narrative.

October 27: Hazy with rain: wind variable and unsettled: harassed with doubts and fears about starting: ate a hearty breakfast, being determined to quit the island if possible. At about ten A.M., after committing ourselves to God on the sea beach, we again launched, having resolved, but in a case of life or death, not to land on Bird island or Hongahapa again; as, if opposed by contrary winds, we determined to go to the islands north of us, and we had scarcely got clear of the channel, then so it was, the wind headed us, and we fell off two or three points: here we were again, almost broken-hearted: although our boat, by the mercy of God, was tighter than ever; but should it come to blow, what could we do in so patched up a condition, and withal but one bird each and a few cocoa-nuts on board, for it was too wet a morning to go after either, and the former especially were getting scarce; but in our distress God remembered us, for instead of contrary winds or a gale, as feared, at about four P.M. behold, a calm! we were all more or less sore, and rowing so many leagues appeared all but

impossible in so weak a state, for I believe none of us were exempt from the flux, and one man was laid up altogether, having been carried into the boat. However, it was life or death with us, and, this we all saw, although afraid to say it lest we should give offence to others more afflicted than ourselves; for rowing, to the best of us, was a painful trial, and the distance was great, as we had been plying to windward a whole day, and but an hour before sun set we had not got more than ten miles. At length, seeing there was no alternative, one of the men proposed to eat what few birds we had, and try what we could do with the oars, to which we all readily consented, and with the blessing of God aiding and strengthening us, after a night's toil, at day light we found ourselves close under Tonga reefs; thus our perseverance was richly repaid: but now we had much trouble and some danger to encounter before we could get within the reef; for Tonga, like most of the islands in these seas, is bounded with reefs and rocks; we had therefore much difficulty in finding an entrance within the reef, at length, having rowed till noon, when approaching towards the shore, we found it equally dangerous to land on account of the surf; and while deliberating how to proceed, we saw a sail out in the offing, and being doubtful whether it was Tonga or not, we determined to make the ship as the surest safeguard. It was still calm and excessively hot, and we must now go over a reef opposed to a very

heavy surf meeting us, or pull round ten or twelve miles out of our direct course to fetch her, thus difficulty and danger attended us to the last hour. Lewis, the whaling-master, was a resolute man, and knew well how to handle a whale boat, and, although he could not swim, yet he engaged to get the boat through it, if we would submit to his direction: we agreed; and there being a small island on either side of us, about a mile off, we stripped, expecting rather to have to swim for it, than to be able to meet the surf; and the reef being a very broad flat, we had five or six rollers to front, and therefore must pull carefully up to meet each successive wave; for, although a calm, the swell over the reef was equally high, though by no means so violent. Had there been any wind, the attempt would have proved impracticable, and we should have been obliged to pull round, or land; but God, who had been with us throughout, was with us still, and we again escaped a watery grave, and the jaws of sharks, which here are very numerous. At about one P.M., (this being October 28,) after a very hard struggle, in which another man was compelled to give up, and to change with me for the steer oar, we at length arrived alongside, and were taken on board to the inexpressible joy and rejoicing of us all, having been exactly forty-nine days from the wreck, and run a traverse of about five hundred miles in a small open boat (but twenty-five feet over all and five feet the extreme breadth) *without*

a chart; in which time, since the loss of the brig, four times we had nearly been swallowed up in the surf among reefs, which we had been driven upon or compelled to go over, including the reef the brig struck upon; and, by the interference of God's mercy, we had escaped, we may say, within a hair's breadth, the reef upon which doubtless our other poor fellow-sufferers in the second mate's boat became the ill-timed victims.—Our other boat had sunk from under us, and we had but just escaped from perishing with thirst, having already doomed our poor dog to die that we might drink his blood.—We had been cast away a second time upon the reef, when making Bittoa, or Turtle island, which had it been in the night we must all have perished.—We had also been completely stove at Bird island, or Hongahapa, and patched up with LEATHER, we had run, previous to making the Thetis,* nearly one hundred miles across an open sea, without a second help;—and, lastly, opposed to a very heavy surf, we had pulled over a dangerous and broad reef, which for six or seven minutes threatened us with immediate death. Such were the mercies we experien-

* The ship alluded to above, was the Thetis, whaler of London, Captain Grey; who, with Captain Sinclair, (of the Hope, Barque, whaler of London, which was in company) received us very kindly, and gave shirts, &c., to those who had none; and to these gentlemen we can appeal, in their own words, as they declared, that never before did they behold a crew of more wretched and distressed looking creatures. We were literally half-naked, while uncombed and unshaven, with our beards grown, we had the appearance of every thing which bespoke our truly miserable condition.

ced: but God also had given us blessings;—for among islands where whole boat's crews had been murdered, we found friends in stark naked savages, even upon a desolate and uninhabited island,—for drink, he gave us in abundance the milk of the nut, —while, for food, he had showered down innumerable birds round about our habitation—there were abundance of scorpions and centipedes also about our camp, and snakes on the island, yet suffered he not one of them to bite or to hurt us,—O! the unbounded goodness and never-failing mercy of God! how, how, shall we declare his praise?

Lewis and myself dined with captains Grey and Sinclair: (it being a calm, the latter was on board on a visit) after dinner it was agreed between the two masters that Lewis and two men should remain on board the Thetis, and three hands should go on board the Hope; for myself, I had determined to pay a visit to the Mission, and accordingly went on shore in a canoe which had come alongside since our arrival.

At about six P.M., landed on a small island, of which there are twelve or thirteen linked together by reefs on the north side of Tonga. Here I soon got rid of all my tropic-birds' tail-feathers, which I gave away more from constraint than regard, and lost all my pumice and burnt stones which I had brought as curiosities from Hongahapa, in remembrance of troublesome times. One

of the natives who brought me on shore, took me to his hut, where, after partaking of some fish, oofies, and cocoa-nuts, I lay down upon a mat, in common with about twenty or thirty men in a large hut, with a branch of a tree for a pillow, and took my repose for the night.

October 29: Soon after day break, my man took me with him some distance to another hut, or, I should say, rather to a ring formed by men sitting outside of it. They all seemed pleased with me, who no doubt was the subject of conversation, though I did not understand the language. Presently they passed round some drink in a shallow shell of a cocoa-nut: I tasted, but did not like it: it was bitter, and had somewhat the appearance of barm: they did not force it upon me. Sitting in a tailor-like posture some considerable time, I noticed different persons near the caterer of the company, chewing * a kind of root, which having well masticated, they dabbed into a shallow wooden dish, about two feet in diameter, upon which they teemed five or six large cocoa-nut shells full of water, this they set all in a ferment by working the contents round with what we should call a hand-swab on board of a ship, to wash plates and dishes, made I believe of strips of bark resembling carpenter's fine shavings. Having extracted all the virtue from the chewed contents,

* The persons appointed to this task, are commonly boys and girls, or young people of both sexes, as no one is permitted to chew *cava* who has any defect, or loss of teeth.

by the working round of this swab, the remains or dregs are carefully gathered into it, and the liquor is wrung out into the bowl, precisely as we wring a dish-cloth, and the dregs shaken out, and this is repeated three or four times till there are no more dregs remaining; when the steward of the ceremony calls out the name of every person in the company, the greatest chiefs and strangers first; when the party is very large, (for upon great national festivals where they sit two and three deep there must be some hundreds,) and the individual whose name is called, not readily to be discerned, gives a loud clap with his hands, signifying to the waiters in attendance where he is, who take him his portion of this highly esteemed beverage, which they call *cava*. Having observed how this dish was prepared, I returned my second serving as I received it, which my neighbour on my right drank for me. After this, a portion of yams and plantains, which had been cooking while the cava was preparing, was distributed to each of the company, on leaves of the bread-fruit or plantain tree, when my guide and I immediately departed without ceremony.

At about eight A.M., my two men and a boy carried our canoe, which had been hauled up in the bush, down to the water. We got in, and they paddled over to the Tonga side, and went on shore for some cocoa-nuts and bananas: started again, passed several small islands, and about noon landed

on one of them, and took some refreshment of the fruit. At half-past one P.M. arrived at Nukualofa, the mission station. My appearance, I apprehended, bespoke distress, and the natives who brought me from the ship, related my case to Mr. Turner, as they had received it from Captain Grey, and I presented my letter signed by himself, chief officer, and surgeon, stating who and what I was. The other two missionaries, Messrs. Cross and Thomas, whose houses are adjoining, now came in; and after relating some few particulars, Mr. Turner, in whose house I was, having a family, and Mrs. T— then being unwell, it was agreed that I should reside at Mr. Cross's; who, the dinner being on table, would insist on my sitting down as I was (like a bearded jew) and partake of what they had, which was baked pork, pudding, and green peas, and a glass of brandy and water. I was then conducted to an adjoining hut where Mr. Cross used to meet his classes: here I got a wash, a shave, and some wholesome decent clothing from head to foot. Mr. Cross gave to each of the two men who brought me, an axe for their trouble, and they departed. While dressing, some of the natives found means to come in, for the mission dwellings are inclosed and locked, or they would have no peace from intruders, who are strangers to study and meditation, and think that missionaries, like themselves, have nothing to do but talk all day. Among this number was a chief who saluted me with, "how you do

sir?" "what name you?" Having learned my name, which is always the first enquiry in Tonga, he took up a pen which was on the table, and wrote the following sentences in a very legible hand: "*my name is Tu-obou-tootie—I very love all English man—I like gone to English—Basé you please teach me English book, I like very much English read.*" Tu-obou-tootie is an intelligent man, and very partial to the English, but rather so from selfish views than from a religious principle. Among those who have embraced the truth in Tonga, Tu-obou-tootie is but a formalist; and murders his time in sauntering about with other young chiefs, making every house his home, and sleeping where it may happen to be most convenient. He is the newsman of Tonga, and commonly foremost in the cava-ring, and if there is a hog or a goat cooking in Nukualofa, there, in the nick of time, Tu-obou-tootie is sure to be found. He is very fond of going on ship board, and on ship's arrival introduces himself as harbour master, or pilot; ever ready to accompany the captains and officers on shore to the king's, (who is a relation) or to the mission, or on a shooting excursion in the bush, where he is a much better pilot, than on the water.

At about four P.M., with the approbation of Mr. Cross, accompanied Tu-obou-tootie to the king's apartments, but he was not within; walked about, and returned. I informed the missionaries that three packets belonging to them were lost in the

Minerva; considering it was so long (nearly two years, I believe) since they had heard from home, and that at this time their stock and trade was nearly expended; it was both trying and painful news to them, which they seemed to bear with a humble and patient submission to the Divine will, evidently manifested in the evening prayers at the conclusion of this day.

October 30: Missionaries gave me paper, pens, and ink: and to-day I commenced writing my narrative, calling to mind every particular circumstance after leaving Sidney, noting them down in rotation. The following commences with my diary, or second part of my narrative, which includes my stay in Tonga and New Zealand.

October 31: At about four P.M., a dispatch arrived from the Mua, a village on the S.E. of the island, to say that Captain Clarke, of the ship Harriet, whaler of London, with five or six other whalers, were lying off and on while the boats were on shore for stock, and that if the missionaries had any communications, the Harriet was going to New Zealand, and from thence to London direct. Accordingly, at about eight P.M., an English sawyer, who had been left on shore here, on his passage to Taheita or Otaheita, a New Zealand girl, (his mistress) and myself, set out with the messenger; but the night being so very dark our guide lost the path, and we were obliged to sleep under an open shed. The bush was literally

illuminated with fire-flies. At day light our guide appeared equally at a loss, and it took us two hours before we got in the direct path. At about nine A.M. we arrived at a river, where we waited another hour before we could get a canoe to take us across: on the return of our guide, he brought with him some pork, fish, *mā*, and plantains: it was not very tempting, we ate but little, and waded about half a mile along the beach: came to a few huts: got two small canoes and lashed them about three feet apart by means of an outrigger, forming a double canoe: took some cocoa-nuts with us, and the canoes not being properly secured, broke adrift in the middle of the river, which is nearly two miles across; one canoe capsized, and the other filled, and all save myself were precipitated into the water; for one of the men fortunately having caught hold of the outrigger, kept the canoe that I was in upon the balance, or over I must have went. The New Zealand girl could swim as well as any of them, and with a little trouble they towed both canoes again to shore. The weather was very hot, but every thing we had, as well as my sextant, had a thorough soaking. We had now to make two trips of it, in a small canoe which would only take half of us at one time, this delay hindered us so long that the ships had all sailed before we arrived.

Having come to our journey's end, we fell in

with five or six Englishmen, who had been put on shore for mutinous conduct from the Barque Clarence, of Hobart Town, the day previous: they were under the protection of a principle chief, named Fatu; at whose paa I fell in with Oheella, a principal chief, converted to Christianity, and brother-in-law to Fatu. This chief had seen me at the missionaries, and had heard of my misfortunes, which he now related to the several chiefs in company, who all appeared much to sympathize with me. Fatu still retains his heathenish principles, though not averse to Christianity, as his hut was the first place in which I had the pleasure of witnessing a native prayer meeting; or, rather, evening family worship; it was not among his own people, but a party from Nukualofa who were on a visit. One gave out the hymn; they all sang; and Oheella prayed. The missionaries have translated many hymns into the native language, set to English tunes, which their new converts have got up pretty fairly; but they have too little notion of singing at present, to charm! It is remarkable that the natives of all the South Sea islands have no idea of sound, and there does not appear to be any kind of musical instrument either in Tonga, the Navigator islands, New Zealand, or New Holland: the dance always accompanies the song.

November 1: After breakfast Oheella made me an offer of a passage in his canoe back to Nukualofa, and would give me no rest till I had promised

to come and live with him: at about nine A.M. we put off in a fine large canoe about forty feet in length: paddled seven or eight miles to the opposite shore, where we landed and took some refreshment of pork and yams: walked about a mile, when his attendant climbed for cocoa-nuts, with which we refreshed again, and afterwards renewed our journey to Nukualofa; and I waited on Mr. Cross while the chief took his reports to the king. On his return to Mr. Cross's for me, not wishing myself to be a burden to the mission, who, as before observed, were very low in stock and trade, * I went with Oheella to his paa, or residence. This chief, who in baptism was named Zechariah, (his wife Elizabeth, and his son John,) was formerly one of Tonga's principal priests, and had so much authority, that demand what he would of any of the natives, none dared to refuse; but having publicly renounced all heathenish practices, he is now as poor and disrespected among the heathen, as he was formerly rich and powerful: however, as a chief, he still retains his authority; and, doubtless, as soon as the chief Ata, and all Hehefo, which is Oheella's native residence, turns to Christianity, the house of Oheella will be as

* The articles of trade are money here; for a common tobacco-pipe you may get two or three fowls; a large hog for an axe, or hatchet, &c.; but nothing sells like sky-blue beads, the same coloured handkerchiefs, and prints, butchers' knives, scissors, adzes, chissels, plane-irons, fowling-pieces, powder and shot, paper, pens and ink, slate and black lead pencils, and soap.

renowned as ever. Having relinquished all heathenish honors, power, and wealth, as a priest, and approved his sincerity by so much self-denial, in the putting away his wives, (five out of six) there is no person but what must admit that this man is either a sincere Christian, or a madman, and a fool. On the Mua side of the island, the natives still remain in heathenism; and had the shipping been at Nukualofa, the boats which came on shore to trade yesterday would have returned as they came, for there was no person to be found who would truck with them on the Sabbath.

November 3: Great preparations for the celebration of the marriage of the Tui Toga with his third wife. Tui Toga, literally means, the king of Tonga, and so far as names exceed in dignity, the Tui Toga is higher in rank than Tubou, the acting king; in whom rests all the power of making war and peace, and all the affairs of the Tonga islands: while the office of Tui Toga is merely nominal. His local residence, is either at the Habai or Vauvau islands, but most of his time is spent in going from island to island, and from place to place, wholly indifferent to any national concerns whatever. Several large double canoes arrived to-day from the Habai, Vauvau, and Navigator islands. These are the greatest pieces of workmanship in Tonga, and are from fifty, sixty, to seventy feet in length, principally hollowed out of a very large tree, and rose upon by sewing other

pieces of the same kind of light wood of different dimensions and various shapes to the body of it, to the height of three or four feet: this *sewing together*, and letting in smaller and larger pieces of various shapes and sizes, without the assistance of either nails or glue, or, indeed, any kind of iron tool, (till of late they have got them of Europeans, formerly having nothing to work with, but tools made of stone, bone, or shell,) is a work of great astonishment even to our English shipwrights, as they are as immoveable, secure, and water-tight, as though they were caulked, nailed, and clinched by the best European workmen. Hence the art of sennit, or small plat-rope making, so general throughout all the islands in the South Seas, for whatever an European would fasten together with nails, these people sew together; thus their largest buildings—their canoes—their broken paddles, clubs, spears, or war instruments, and every thing whatever that is joined to another, is *sewed*: for although they now use the English axe, (but principally the plane-iron,) fixed as a hand-adze to cut with, yet they appear to have no real necessity for nails, farther than to drive in the posts of their houses to hang any thing upon. Sennit, as before observed, is made from the husk of the cocoa-nut: double canoes are formed of two single ones, placed about two feet apart by means of rafters laid across the gunwales, and lashed securely down to both canoes; and upon the rafters are laid

planks, fore and aft, forming a platform upon which again a stage is erected, in appearance somewhat similar to our stage waggons, which answers for a sleeping room at night, and a covering from wet, as well as a baggage room; while the body of the canoe below is balasted with water, cocoa-nuts, and other water-proof stores. I should suppose some of these canoes will take an hundred passengers, as they not only sit on the platform without and within, but the top of the stage is also covered with both male and female, as well as poultry, and almost every other article of food for present use. The large or double canoes either belong to the government or great chiefs, and when it is known they are about to sail, those who wish for a passage are permitted to go free. These are seldom used but in seasons of fine weather, or upon Government dispatches.

November 7: The three preceding days have been all noise and mirth, celebrating the royal nuptials: there was a great sameness in the proceedings, which were made up principally in dancing and singing, if the former may be so called; which, like the Feejee islanders, is signified rather by gestures of the hands and body than the feet, and are of a slow movement, as the performers which are five or six feet apart very gradually pass round the ring where their principal chiefs are sitting, surrounded by their respective tribes. The dancers were all females, dressed up accor-

ding to the costumes of the country or of the island to which they belonged, each striving to excel the other in appearance by more or less decorating themselves with beads, ribbands, flowers and feathers; but those from the Navigator islands principally attracted my notice. The songs I did not comprehend; but from what I saw, or could learn, the chiefs in the centre first sang a verse, then the dancing women, which was followed again by a chorus or shout of approbation from all; the women then all sang out *tau*, and made a fresh move, about six feet, passing round the ring; at every halt the same kind of singing went 'on, till the song and dance were finished, and so of all the different tribes alternately. Something similar was carried on the whole of each night under a very large shed appropriated to the purpose. This was the last day; but on the preceding days, rings merely were formed in front of the abbé of each chief, in the centre of which the principal chiefs of all the islands formed a body, surrounded by inferior chiefs: these all sang occasionally, while the bride and bridesmaid, or some such characters, walked round the ring in state, making a fresh move only at the word *tau*, when they proceeded but two or three paces. The dresses of these two chief women, consisted of a vast quantity of plaited tapper wrapped round the waist, making a very bulky appearance; they wore long black hair, with their bodies literally dripping with scented cocoa-nut

oil. Vast rolls of tapper was presented to the royal party on this occasion. There was no coronation on this festival, but a great anointing with oil, which I saw performed on the part of the woman, as she sat on a kind of throne or raised seat, similar in form to a sofa. This wife has already been living in concubinage with the king for three years, agreeable to the Tonga custom.

The feast has distressed this part of Tonga very much, being obliged to provide food for all the visitors during the festival, as well as for the different islanders on their return home; hence, for this latter purpose, there are three piles of yams, twenty feet high, with several large hogs already dressed on the top of each. They say, there will be a great scarcity at Nukualofa till the new yams and bread-fruit come in season, which will not be these six weeks.

Thus far my delay in Tonga has afforded me an opportunity of seeing a *kaataga*, or royal feast, such as possibly before has not been witnessed by Europeans.

Sunday, November 8: Last Sabbath I was on my journey, disappointed of my expectations, and missed of every comfort which a Christian Sabbath is capable of affording. Not so to-day; I have attended both the native and English services, and surely if the former was a fast to my ears; for want of knowing the language, it was a feast to my eyes to behold so many hundreds of late

heathen men and women singing the praises of God, with all attention to the word; and, lest a syllable should escape, there was a profound silence; all ears were open, every eye fixed, and every mouth, as it were, open ready to swallow down the word from the preacher's lips: and, indeed, so grand a sight as that of the king, queen, and family, sitting at the door of the tent, and the natives in a ring in front, reclining under the shade of various fruit-trees and odoriferous shrubs, gave this meeting a paradisiacal appearance, and I had almost said, quoting the words of old Simeon, "now, Lord, let thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation;" while my heart was so impressed with gratitude, that, in conscience, I could say, my eyes then beheld "what many kings and great men desired to see, and prophets longed for, but never saw."

November 16: Nothing particular has occurred since the 8th, till to-day; the brig, *Hind*, arrived here from *Taheita*. She left Sydney the week after us, on a trading voyage among the islands; she has been very fortunate, and has picked up fourteen tons of sperm oil, (the remains of a wreck) and is now on her return to Port Jackson. Dined on board with Captain Jack, who has very kindly offered me a passage to Sydney: of course I shall avail myself of this favourable opportunity.

November 17: The *Barque Elizabeth*, whaler of London, arrived this day: this is the first South

Seaman ever anchored here: has been out thirteen months and has nine hundred barrels of sperm oil on board. She is last from the coast of Japan and Sandwich islands, and commanded by Captain Edward Deane, who was formerly a brother crug, (a blue-coat-boy) and remembered me calling at Christ's Hospital, on my return from the French prison in 1814. Dined with him on board: and here I can but make a remark, as a very similar case occurred *yesterday*, when some other chiefs dined with us:—*to-day*, the king, and his mata-booles, or gentlemen in attendance, also dined with us, and seeing the officers beginning to eat without saying grace, Tubou, the king, gently touched one of them, and then begged leave of the Captain to permit him to ask a blessing upon what we were then about to partake of. I never witnessed a Tonga Christian, whether alone, or in company, eat without asking a blessing. This, methinks, needs no comment.

November 21: The brig, Hind, sailed to-day without me, the wind blowing so fresh that no canoe would venture to take me on board.

December 3: Since the 21st ult., I have spent some time in frequent visits on board the Barque Elizabeth, which has proceeded to-day on her whaling voyage. Captain Deane having very kindly collected for me thirteen or fourteen articles of wearing apparel, forwarded the same to me, with a letter inclosed when under weigh, wishing me a

safe passage to my native country, which freely he would have given me, if he were homeward bound.

December 7: Went with my chief Oheella to Hehefo, a native village, about ten miles distant. Oheella is a great chief here, this being the residence of his forefathers, which he has left solely on account of the mission, that he may be able to attend to Sabbath and religious duties: at Hehefo, homage is paid to Oheella rather from fear than respect; as, it appears, when in power as a priest, he was very arbitrary, being naturally of a covetous disposition. I observed here of those who met us, that with the one hand they laid hold of the wrist of the other as they passed the chief; and visitors who came to our house touched the soles of his feet as they were about to depart; whereas, on their coming in, they sat in silence at a respectful distance a considerable time before they spoke, which I believe was not till spoken to by him. On our journey to Hehefo we crossed two rivers, and waded four or five miles over a long flat, sometimes up to the ankles, knees, and middle, in water: much rain throughout the day; got very wet, and arrived at about two P.M.: an American whaler was lying off here, while her boat was on shore trading for yams, pigs, &c.: dined with the captain of her, at Thomas Wright's, an Englishman, formerly servant to the Rev. Mr. Lowry, who first established the mission here. He has the care of the

missionary premises, under Ata, the principal chief, who is very friendly towards him, though not to Christianity, and has given him land. The natives here in general are very partial to him, especially the chiefs, to whom he officiates as a favourite shaver ; as Ata, and his brother, commonly submit their necks to the mercy of his razor twice a week. The chief Ata being sick, the natives plundered the American's boat; Thomas Wright has made complaint to the chief, who is a very sensible and intelligent man, and is aware how impolitic this conduct is to the general good ; and declares, being apprised of the plunderers, that they shall be severely punished ; for that the *hawaka papalangees* the white mens' boats, shall have every protection and encouragement which can be afforded them in Tonga. Thomas Wright speaks the Tonga language fluently, having been here, I believe, eight years; and has about half a dozen native boys with whom he prays morning and evening, and teaches them to read and write. I cannot say but I envied this man's happiness, I only wondered that he had not a wife, as he is entirely settled here.

December 8: Went with Oheella on a visit to Ata, who has been ill: we found him at one of his god or spirit-houses, where superstition and the powers of darkness have led him under the idea of appeasing the anger of the offended deity: he is now much better, and was very pleased to

see me on my introduction by Oheella; held out his hand, and said to me, in the native tongue, *jio-te-ŋfa* "how do you do?" or, "my love to you;" and bid me sit down on the mat beside him, which is the place of the principal visitor: here we drank cava, and ate bananas. Ata is a great chief, and I observed here, more especially, a very respectful silence throughout the levee, no person presuming to speak above a whisper, saving the person addressing or advising him upon the subject. The place he was sitting in to receive his audience, was a very large canoe-house, about one hundred feet in length: he was sitting in the area or space between a double canoe, on a mat spread upon the ground; the visitors forming a curve in front of him: his children were sitting at one corner behind the company, tossing up three balls, playing in fearful silence. The cava being drank and bananas served, the whole company very abruptly broke up—one, two, or three at a time; and left Ata, his spirit-woman, wives, and attendants, to themselves. Oheella and myself, now took our route through the bush: called upon two friends; with the first we took cava, bread-fruit, oofies, and cocoa-nuts: with the latter, a pig, yams, &c. We had passed here before to-day, I rather think it was one of Oheella's paas or plantation, as he was himself entire master of the ceremonies: and just as dinner was being served, two or three passers by were called, and bid to sit down:

their morsel was then placed before them, which they took up, and, without ceremony, walked away as abruptly as on the former occasion. In public parties it is the privilege of the person sitting next the chief to take the chief's share.

December 9: Breakfasted at Thomas Wright's: heard there of the death of the chief Lauaka: went to see the funeral ceremony. The cava rings were formed; and temporary booths, made of the branches of the cocoa-nut tree, were erected not far from the burial-place; which, in Tonga, is always upon a rising ground, or more commonly on artificial sand-hills; and the place of interment, if it be a chief, is covered with a shed. Ata, the chief, being there, I paid my respects to him; he was surrounded by his wives, children, and attendants, sitting under an open shed, or roof, supported by posts without walls. His principal wife is a fine woman, talkative and friendly to the *papa-langees*, or white men. She said she was sorry she had nothing to offer me to eat at the present. At this time Ata was waiting to receive visitors, and had already sent for Thomas Wright: but I, not knowing the language, took my leave of Ata, in order that I might not lose sight of the funeral; I first heard the cries and lamentations of the women, and made towards the place where I saw the body of Lauaka laid out, in a large bundle of tappa, and covered over with mats. His principal wife was bewailing with a most lamentable cry, and

beating her face about the cheek bones with her fists, and cutting herself with sharp stones in a dreadful manner; in fact, she was streaming with blood from head to foot, while her eyes were so swollen that she could scarcely see out of them, crying out all the time, *O ya ve! O ya ve!*—“O dear me,” “O dear me!” this, with the lamentation and cries of the other wives, who were also beating and cutting themselves, so horrified me that I was obliged to make my exit, and saw no more of it; but Thomas Wright tells me, the friends visit the grave daily, for a fortnight, to weep over it. Presently after this I met T. W. with two of his boys carrying home nearly a quarter of a large hog, a basket of yams, and plantains; his own portion, *and the chief's*, which he had laid siege to, according to custom, as before observed.

In demon, or spirit worship, there is a something horrific to a beholder: the whole is made up of action, or gesture, with the hands and feet; and a kind of silent awe, or conference ensues, in which the parties appear to be holding converse with the imaginary deity, muttering some words to themselves. One evening, just after sun set, I watched two women on the sea shore for nearly an hour: their husbands, it appeared, were gone over to the Habai islands, and they were invoking the gods for a fair wind; but it struck such a panic into me, that, although they were a friendly people, I felt compelled to withdraw from their

presence, with the same sensation as I would from a demoniac.

December 10: Oheella is no better; and fearing to lose a passage to Sydney, New Zealand, Taheita, or the Sandwich islands, from whence I might have a better chance of getting to England, than from Tonga, should a vessel touch at Nukualofa bound to any of these places in my absence, I quit-
ted Hehefo, leaving my sick chief behind. It was a fine day, I therefore only got wet the lower half of me in going over the flats, and arrived at Nukualofa about one P.M. This is rather an unpleasant walk, for the wading so long a distance through the water not only makes the feet tender, but, in many parts, there is much coral and craggy rocks to walk over, which is painful to the feet, besides the danger of severely cutting them. I laid down this night pretty well fatigued.

December 11: A messenger arrived from the Mua, saying that Captain Brind, of the ship Toward-Castle, was there. I accordingly set out with him on his return at about six P.M. and arrived at ten P.M. It is an excellent country road, nearly twelve miles from Nukualofa, and is very pleasant walking, the roads on each side being lined with dwarf cocoa-nut trees.*

* These trees were tabooed, or sacred, being consecrated to the gods: the fallen nuts were carefully gathered into large baskets, placed at the foot of different trees, where they will remain to rot. And a native, knowing a tree to be tabooed, (the sign of which is commonly a piece of tappa hanging to one of the branches,) although ever so thirsty, would not dare to eat

December 12: Saw Captain Brind, who very kindly offered me a passage when the ship should sail for the Bay of Islands, but at present he was going off Pilstart island, and might not return for a month. After breakfast, returned to Nukualofa, the mission station, very tired and fatigued.

Sunday, December 13: Spent a very uncomfortable Sabbath, overwhelmed in grief and trouble, with thoughts of home.

December 14: The mission having no printing press, I am now engaged in making manuscript copies of Scripture History, Miracles, Parables, and Sermons of our Saviour; Catechisms, Hymns, &c., in the Tonga language, translated by missionaries, Turner, Cross, and Thomas, for the use of the natives.

Sunday, December 19: Had to bless God for the grandest sight my eyes ever beheld: twenty men, and I think forty-nine women were baptized, and fourteen couple married in the presence of the whole congregation. The women made a very pretty appearance, being decorated with garlands and wreaths of odoriferous flowers intermixed with hanging branches of fibres of a small vine. The missionaries intimated to some of them, "if there were not an unbecoming pride in this decorating the body?"—they replied, "no; it was to them *as covering*." This day's work is a convincing

of the fruit, fearing he should be seized with immediate sickness or death, which his superstition leads him to believe would be the curse for such a sacrilegious offence.

proof of the benefit of missions. If my situation is pitiable, what my eyes have beheld to-day is enviable.

December 20: This morning Mele, or Mary, the queen, paid us a visit, which I presume was a formal one, as I was aware of her coming last night; when several bunches of bananas were either sent from the royal guest herself, or got in preparation beforehand by our chief. I rather think the former to be the custom, as I have observed that it is always known beforehand when a great chief is about to pay or receive visits; for, accordingly, the gentleman or ladies in attendance are very busy in making preparations: and, as early as six o'clock this morning, the queen and ladies were all seated at Oheella's, and not without their cava chewers with them; or, as I used to call them, *walking-grinders*; some of these will chew at one time as much cava-root as would make nearly a cud-ball. This accounts for the immoderate quantity of yam, oofai, &c., which the mothers cram into the childrens' mouths; which, however disgusting to an European, yet, as it is training them to chew cava, is as laudable in a child, as it may hereafter be beneficial to community. Prepared cava, or the root previously chewed with odoriferous leaves, upon certain occasions, is sent as a present; as, at the death of Harriet, one of the king's former wives, Oheella's house chewed so much cava root, that when made up into a ball, it

was as large in circumference as an eighteen pound cannon shot: upon this was sprinkled sandal-wood dust, which they consider gives the cava a superior flavour: it was then sent as a present to the house of the deceased. Cava parties are fashionable in Tonga at all hours, particularly in the morning early. Cava is said to be of a stupifying quality. It is a species of the ginger root.

Christmas-day, 1829: Dined with the Rev. Mr. Turner and family; and, blessed be God, in this far distant land, not without a good plum-pudding.

Sunday, December 27: Spent the Sabbath as usual respecting myself. Several children were baptized, upon which my heart was lifted up with much gratitude. "Do not our hearts burn within us while we behold these things."

December 31: Being the last day in the year a prayer-meeting was held at Mr. Turner's, and I received a personal invitation to attend the sacrament on Sunday next.

Sunday, January 3, 1830: In all reverential awe and deep submission before God, received upon my knees the emblem of the broken body and blood of our dying Lord, in Christian fellowship, with the three missionaries and their wives.

Sunday, January 10: Tubou, our king, was baptized into the Christian faith this forenoon, and five of his children. He made an appropriate speech in the presence of a large congregation,

which I shall give in the Rev. Mr. Turner's translation of it, and also as a specimen of the native language in the original at the close of this day's account. After baptism, he and his excellent wife Mary, who had previously been baptized, were married after the form of the English church. "A more affecting and deeply interesting scene," says Mr. Turner, "I never before witnessed. The chief's speech, upon this occasion had a most powerful effect upon the people, and together with his baptism and marriage, it will, I have no doubt, be a means of turning many in our favour, and of confirming those who have embraced the truth."

The following I copied for the mission, from Mr. Turner's diary :

"After the afternoon service, baptized three adults and four children, and married two couple. It is worthy of remark, that one of the parties who was baptized this afternoon, was, previous to his embracing the Gospel, one of the principal priests of the island, and the very identical man to whom our king, or chief, used to bow down to, and worship; supposing, or rather believing him to be inspired by the god of the tribe, or family, to which he belonged. However, thanks be to God, he has, for more than twelve months, abandoned his foolish and wicked priesthood and heathenish practices altogether. His mind is tolerably enlightened, relative to the leading truths of the Bible. He is very attentive to, and diligent in all the means of grace, and attends school to learn his lesson like a little child. Glory be to God, this is the second of Tonga's principal priests we have baptized into the faith of Christ."

The following is the king's speech, nearly verbatim, which Mr. Turner took down from his lips previous to baptism :

"Ko eku tala atu ki ho tau kaiga lotu, ke mou fanogo lelei mai ki ai. Kau tala atu kiateki moutolu, oku ou siefai totonu be ki ho tau Otua, a ene fekau. Aeni, ku ou hau ai ki fale ni, o lea atu kiateki moutolu, ke mou mamata mai ki ai: koe foaki atu hoku Jino, mo eku fanau, ke faiteliha mai o Jihova eku toe moui i mama ni. Bea ka oji eku moui i mama ni, be au totonu be ki he ene Afio. Ko eku fakafetai atu ki he eku fanau, mo Vaka-

jiuola, mo ho tau kaiga nae tomua lotu, mo ki moutolu nae toki tafoki mai i mui. He na aku lotu toko taha be au, nae ikai teu fie tala atu kiateki moutolu, koe uhi, naa mou tatau hake kiate au. Ka ku ou ilo au, ko ho, tau Otua mooni eni. Bea mou behe ai be, koe mea foou: ka koe alogabe, nae toki au mai ae fekau ni kiateki tautolu. Bea ko eku tala atu ki he talavou; moe fefine mui, te mou ofa mai kiate au, ke mou haghaga lotu; ke mou taki taha kumi hono Ohoana, ke mou nonofo lelei be: na a iloaga, kuo ikai teu mamata atu, o kau ka alu ki Lagi, kuo ikai iloa ha taha; bea mou behe, kuo ife ia? Kuo alu ia ki he mea kovi, ka kuo ikai te tau katoa.

Ko ho tau nofoaga oku tolu be, ko Mama ni, ko Heli, bea ko Hevani. Bea oku fuonounou ae nofo i Mama ni; kai fuoloaloe ae nofo i Hevani, moe nofo i Heli. Bea oua teke tokaga ki he mea faka mama, he koe mea fuonounou ia, moe mea kovi.

Bea oku ikai teu lotu ni keu moui ai be, ka oku ou lotu be ka teu mahaki. he ko ho tau hala ia, ae bekia. He nae fegai ho tau tubuaga, moe faahihehe vale: koe tae te nau iloi. Oku ou tala atu kiateki moutolu, ke mou fai lelei be ki ho tau Otua, ka mou ofa mai kiate au.

Ko eka tala atu ki he kau tagata fai fekau, mou omai, ke mou luluku au ki he vai faka maa a Jisu Kalaisi i he ene fekau, ne tuku mai eia kiateki tautolu, ki he kakai kotoabe i mama ni.

The following is as literal a translation as could well be given without destroying the sense:

"This is my speech to you my friends, listen you well to it. I say unto you that I desire to perform truly to God all his commands. Now I have come to this house to speak to you, do you look or attend to the same. I give my body or myself and my children, let Jehovah do as He pleases with me the rest of my life in this world; then when my life ends in this world, I straight shall go in to his presence.

My thanks to you my children or people and my brother Vakajiuola, and our friends who first prayed or became religious, and to you who have lately turned to the *lotu-religion*. For I only, or I at first prayed and embraced the *lotu*, and did not desire to tell you, or ask you to do so, for this reason, that evil might not come upon you on my account, and you say, it is this New Thing (or an account of it). But I knew that this was our True God: and after some time arrived these messengers (missionaries) to us.

And this is my instruction or advice to you young men and women: love or attend to me, and be very diligent in religion. Each of you seek his wife or husband and live together as you ought, lest I should not find some, or some one of you in heaven when I go: then you will ask, "Where is he?"—He is gone to the bad place, and then we shall not all dwell together. Our dwelling-places are three only; this world, hell, and heaven.

And our dwelling in this world is but short, but it is long in heaven, and long in hell. Don't cleave to the things of this world, for they are short-lived things, and they are evil things.

I do not attend to religion merely that I may live, (this some have said concerning him) but I attend to religion that I may die, for death is our road.

Our ancestors attended to the ignorant priests, or those who pretend to be inspired with the spirit of the gods, because they did not understand. I advise you to do only that which is good to our God, then you will love me.

I say unto you missionaries, come you, baptize me in the water clean of Jesus Christ, agreeable to his command given to us, and to all the people in the world."

"Having thus spoken, he kneeled down, and, in the presence of a large and deeply affected congregation, I had the honour to baptize him in the name of the Sacred Three, calling him *Josiah*, after that good king in Israel of ancient days."

[Signed,] NATHANIEL TURNER, Missionary.

Sunday, January 17: A large double canoe has arrived from the Habai islands with entreaties from the king to the missionaries, earnestly soliciting one of them to come over and teach them the religion of the white people. Peter Vaa, the native teacher, has arrived with it, and brings more good news from the Navigator islanders, who, having heard of our missionaries, and beginning to see their own religion but a system of priestcraft and lies, have sent to the Habai islands to intercede for a teacher for them. We may well say, "what hath God wrought;" and, as the approach of a Second Advent, we may hail the day when it shall be said as at the First, "the people which sat in darkness saw great light: and to them which sat in the regions and shadow of death light is sprung up."

Having mentioned several transactions which occurred, and the manner in which I usually passed

my time while in Tonga, I will now quote an abstract from my diary as it lies before me, which I noted in short-hand on the spot, as the following struck my attention:—

Sunday.—The regard paid to the Sabbath in Tonga, is an example to Christians in general, for among those who attend to our religion, not one of them will put his hand to any kind of work on the Sabbath; and between and after public services, at which they are all eyes and ears attentive, private religious meetings are held at the different chiefs, upon the grass, under the trees; and it is impossible for an European to pass the native dwellings at these seasons without grateful emotions of heart in behalf of this hopeful people.—*School.*—All ages attend; men and women carrying their infants upon their backs, and slate and book in hand; the king's wife, and chief women also as teachers and learners: I never once met them going or coming hither but I was constrained to sigh what the tongue could not utter.—One may reasonably suppose these new things, a system of education and religious instruction, must be a great relief to the people of Tonga, and a welcome intruder into their leisure hours; the greater part of their time being usually spent in sleep, or in walking about doing nothing.—*Singing.*—It is a grateful reflection to hear the natives singing hymns and praying so long before sunrise: themselves are the larks; and the girls and women are up the trees gathering flowers, their ornamental covering, before Phœbus shows his head.—Although the abbés are a considerable distance apart, I lay under my *tianamma*, or musquito curtain, and heard psalm singing in half-a-dozen places at one time, both morning and evening: no little gratification in a heathen land.—The natives of Tonga are much attached to company, so that in common their houses are either over-full or abandoned: naturally meddlers with every thing; two days following my inkstand has been upset because they would see the bottom of it by turning it

upside down.—Indolent.—Great talkers.—Superstitious.—Passed the king's daughter, sitting beside the path with her attendants taking a repast; sensible of her dignity, yet unconscious of wrong, she knew not how to blush.—Dogs' and cats' flesh preferred to goats.—As in scripture, every person's name has its meaning, so Mr. Cross's interpreter's name is *Vavé*, make haste!—Women are very modest and are of a more tender and motherly than of a handsome appearance.—They commonly bathe daily.—The Tonguese are very good natured and never eat in your presence without asking you to partake with them; so much so, that if you meet them carrying fruit or provision not belonging to them, they immediately stop to apologize and excuse themselves.—They are liberal, though almost unparalleled beggars.—It would be a great offence to pass a hut where they are eating and not to turn in to partake with them.—In the chiefs of Tonga you may realize Abraham, Lot, and others of the ancients, sitting in the doors of their tents, or under the shade of a large tree, either entertaining the stranger, or praying, or singing praises to the God of heaven; many such similitudes have occupied my attention with no little gratification even in this far distant land.—A smoke in Tonga is a certain sign of something cooking, and the traveller or needy person then has nothing to do but to make towards it and without ceremony seat himself till it is ready; Tubou, the king, told me I was foolish that I did not follow this custom.—The Tonguese are inquisitive, and I rarely ever met a person but must know where I was going, and if they did not know me, where I came from.—Tubou, is the Alfred of Tonga; with his catechism in his hand behind him, learning his lesson by heart like a school-boy, he is overlooking the men at work enlarging the missionary premises.—Flies here are very troublesome, boys or girls are sometimes employed to fan them off you, and your viands, while you are eating.—In a still night, fire-flies are very numerous, and illuminate the bush considerably some feet around them.—The natives are very fond of the

English; there would not be a dry eye if missionaries were to leave.—Missionaries are little kings here, and so conscientious are the people, that fearing to do wrong, if there be a doubt, they immediately refer to the missionary.—Lest the friends of missions should doubt the sincerity of the numerous converts here; none are baptized but such as have been a year under trial preparatory to being admitted members of the Christian Church: add to which, every chief, as a proof of his sincerity, puts away all his wives save one.—The Tonguese are very fond of sneezing, in which they make much ado, far exceeding the bruit of our old women.—As Europeans are in the habit of frightening children by telling them the black man is coming, the Tonguese frighten their's by saying the *papalangee*, or *bull-a-ma-cow*, is coming; that is, a white man, or a bull, or a cow;—there are about a dozen horned cattle in Tonga, the breed of those which Captain Cook landed here; but the natives do not like them, being so destructive to the plantain trees.—The mission have a flock of goats.—There is scarcely a man or woman in Tonga, or on any of the Friendly islands, who has not lost a little finger, as every person who has a sick relation or chief, cuts off this finger to appease the offended spirit: the devil is a hard and cruel master: this custom is done away, as also the cutting and beating, &c., at a funeral among the Tonguese *Christians*, another instance of the benefit of missions.—Saw Harriet, an interesting young woman, formerly one of the king's wives, buried; she died in a consumption; it was a solemn procession, and, as at the funeral of the chief Lauaka, the body was wrapped in tappa and mats, and after the usual Christian ceremony, performed by missionary Turner, she was interred; when all the young girls made each a basket of the branch of the cocoa-nut tree, hasted down to the sea beach and filled them with sand, and thus closed up the final scene, the grave.—The men of all these islands have the buttocks and thighs tattooed, which in the whole resembles a pair of blue breeches.—The women mark themselves by cutting deep gashes uniformly in the arms and calves of

their legs, others again are dotted or spotted all over the arms and neck with small crosses.—Thermometer from 85 to 95 degrees, but in very hot weather it sometimes stands at 115° in the shade.—Native Christians write hymns and send as presents to each other, to distant villages, and to the Habai islands: thus religion is no farce in Tonga.—The islanders never use salt, but do not dislike it.—Few will eat cheese, but all are immoderately fond of biscuit or bread.—They are very light of hearing, and in private conversation are sedate, and speak very low, the eyes at the same time intimating the greatest sincerity.—The law pronounces death upon the lower order who should presume to pass a chief in contempt with his hair tied up over his head, the custom of wearing the hair when employed in any kind of drudgery.—Human sacrifices sometimes occur in Tonga, an evil which Christianity has done away with on the mission station.—If it be known that a native has any thing eatable, he has no rest till his neighbours have begged it all away.—Oheella says his leg is *very saucy*, very sore, and that Tonga man very *muchée* frighten at man of war; speaking of a French ship which once fired upon the natives.—Every word in the Tonga language ends with a vowel, (see the king's speech), and so I believe of all the islands.—They are very cleanly in their persons and houses, the floors of the latter are covered with mats—a block of wood is their pillow, or a branch of a tree will serve for a dozen heads—twenty or thirty sleep on one floor.—Nothing so deforms a native as European dresses, especially a white cap over a black or tawny visage.—The Tonguese are of various hues, from a sallow complexion to a black, but not jet: head dress similar to the natives of Bittoa or Turtle island.—The beating of the bark of the Chinese mulberry-tree into cloth, commences at break of day and continues till about ten A. M.; it reminds one of the drumming of the tattoo.—The natives of these islands have but two meals a day, at about ten A. M. and four or five P. M.—They are very sober; love a taste of wine or spirits, but not much. Immoderately fond of smoking, although till of late they have never seen tobacco.—They are covetous in begging,

but as liberal in the distribution of their European goods—Oheella is always poor and wanting, because as fast as he gets things he gives them away again.—He is first rate in canoe building, in the carpentering way; and an expert spearer of fish.—Never saw men and women walk together; but when either of these walk with their own sex, it is commonly rank and file, excepting it be in particular friendship, and then they walk abreast with their hands and fingers clasped.—If the king dine out, his dinner is brought to him by matabooles, or gentlemen, who are seen carrying baskets of yams and hogs already cooked, on poles between two; this is not servile homage, but a mark of respect; thus, the chiefs also lend a hand to scour the king's canoe, or assist occasionally in any particular work, which the king has in hand; and these duties are always accompanied with cava parties, and provision suitable to the occasion, at which the king himself presides—the same respect also is paid to the matabooles in their turn by the lower orders; thus, the poor support the chiefs, and the chiefs supply the king's table.—It is curious enough to see men running to school for fear of being too late.—The newly baptized are very fond of their new names.—Saturday afternoon is employed in preparation for the Sabbath.—Children and girls are very clever in playing at *hiko*, or ball; they will keep in action five, six, and some of them as many as ten at one time, tossing them up till they have repeated a song of several verses.—The men always sit on the floor; commonly cross-legged.—If we notice the habits of uncivilized life, we shall find that nature requires very little, and, as the poet says, “nor that little long,” for that in some respects, as it may be said, a New Hollander has no home, yet every place is home; if thirsty, the bed of the river, down which runs the silver stream, is their golden bowl; while the leaves of the trees serve not only as spoons, plates, basins, and dishes, but even the purpose of saucepans, in which they cook their *fricasees*; in short, if they have but the quantity, they are indifferent about the quality.—It is rather a curious circumstance, but there are many persons in Tonga who never knew

their mothers, as the fashion of Tonga is, for mothers to make presents of their children to particular friends, by way of binding the ties of friendship more closely; there is sound policy in this, as it unites the great chiefs in different districts together; for Fatua, has Tubou's daughter, and, if I mistake not, Ata has Fatu or Tubou's son.—There is no person in Tonga but is more or less a maker of baskets for common purposes; but the wives and daughters of the chiefs only understand the making of fancy baskets and combs for sale, or barter, in which they are very clever; while the beating of tappa, or making of native cloth, is generally confined to the lower order of females; the employment of the men, is, building huts, canoes, making paddles, war instruments, or cultivating the land.—Money is not current among these islanders, nor have they any idea of its value, as some few years ago, a ship was wrecked among these islands which had a vast quantity of dollars and Spanish money on board, which the natives afterwards exchanged with traders for beads, &c. giving a dollar, in exchange for one, two, or three beads, &c.—the par of exchange is six or seven fowls for a knife—two or three for a tobacco-pipe—one, two, or three muskets, value ten or twelve shillings, for a bullock—a hog for an axe—two or three beads for a fowl,—three dozen shells for a bottle, &c.—but much is owing to the exigency of the most needy, consequently the poor islanders are generally strained to the extreme.—European goods are much sought after in all the islands.—The traders barter for cocoa-nut oil, sandal wood, arrow-root, sennit, &c.—The usual homage paid to a chief, is tracing the fingers across the soles of the feet; this Oheella's sons and daughters were in the habit of doing daily as they were about to leave the hut.—The same homage I have seen paid to chief women.—They are very fond of their children in infancy, but as they grow up they are made to serve as attendants, and rank in life according to the rank of their mothers; as a chief having many wives, the eldest son of the principal woman would succeed to the heritage, and rank of his father, or perhaps higher, to his grandfather of

his mother's side.—There does not appear to be any jealousy among the wives; and, what is more, the different wives seem to have an equal love to all the children, and the children to have a like fondness for all their father's wives, as mothers. However, doubtless there is a most beloved Rachael, and a darling Joseph; and my own son, and my only mother, and one common father of us all, and we all are brethren.—That these people retain much of the ancient customs is certain; for Elizabeth, Oheella's wife, having no children, goes on a visit, and sees Eseta a fine young woman likely to bear children, and as Oheella is a great chief, Elizabeth prevails on Eseta to come home with her; she complies, and Elizabeth presents her to Oheella, that so Elizabeth may have children by Eseta; now this simple relation I had from Oheella himself, which accords exactly with the case of Abraham, Sarah, and Hagar, Sarah's maid.—I related this anecdote to a missionary, who informed me, that the custom of Tonga is, that when a woman has lived some years with her lord, and thinks that he does not delight in her as formerly, she, then, in love for him, seeks out a young women, and brings her home to him, that his house may be multiplied.—The Tonguese are great newsmongers, and the most trivial circumstance flies all over the island in a space of time scarcely to be credited; and every person's character is known to the king himself.—Is there a Rahab there? he knows it; and if she have harboured any man it cannot be hid, more than the spies of Joshua, which also came to the king of Jericho's ears—Is there a ship off the other side of the island? it is known on this side,—is she coming round to Nukualofa the mission station? we know hours before she heaves in sight.—It may be well said here, “speak not a word against the king, for a bird shall tell him what thou doest in thy bed chamber.”—There is one great evil in Tonga, the chiefs despise the poor, and are not only jealous but very angry when they know Europeans give presents to them; and, had not Oheella embraced the Gospel; he would demand their presents from them.—I have spoken to him much on this subject, but it is almost an innate

principle in all the Tonga chiefs.—Sugar-cane grows exceedingly fine in Tonga, to the height of twelve or fourteen feet.—Captain Henry, son of the Rev. missionary Henry, at Taheita, we understand is about to erect sugar-works here; this would meet with great encouragement from the Colony.—Much, and almost the whole of my time latterly being spent at the mission, Oheella's people never used to expect to see me before night, after rising in the morning, for I always slept at the chief's, who had given me a hut to myself, that I might not be disturbed; but, at one time, coming home unexpectedly in the course of the day, never was I more agreeably surprised than to find a young woman (one of Oheella's former wives) upon her knees in secret prayer, who, if she was alarmed at seeing me, appeared too intent in her importunities to allow me to disturb her hastily.—When a ship anchors at Nukualofa, the king has always policy enough in him to send a present of hogs and yams on board to the captain, a compliment which he is aware will be repaid fourfold.

Being now about to quit Tonga; I will just note some remarks on my leaving the mission, and quitting the island, as nothing particular has occurred since the last date, January 17th; and, to conclude,—

January 22: At about nine P.M., Mr. Miller, surgeon of the Barque Elizabeth, arrived here from the Mua, and came to say that captains Deane and Brind, were on shore at the chief Fatua's, and were waiting any packets the mission wished to forward to England, as captain Brind was bound immediately to New Zealand. I was now very busily employed making transcripts for the mission, and so usefully and happily did I feel myself engaged in the service of these friendly islanders,

that having always been an advocate for missionary labours, I was desirous only of offering my willing services, and having food and raiment, (nor rent nor taxes to pay), I lived at ease, and wanted for nothing; but, blessed be God, always honorably and usefully employed, and being at home in the service in which I was engaged, I can safely say, that in the whole, including the few leisure moments I occasionally stole in converse with the missionaries, or at tea-table in company with their truly amiable wives and little ones, never did I pass my time more happily, nor more usefully, than in Tonga, saving those seasons of reflection which every evening marred my happiness, when overcome with thoughts of a beloved family at home.

January 23: After receiving a few dollars from each of my missionary friends, a good quantity of tappa, some mats, Tonga combs, baskets, and shells, &c. &c., at about ten A.M. I took my friendly leave; Tubou, at the request of the Rev. Mr. Turner, having appointed two men to carry my luggage, for if I arrived in Tonga literally naked, I had now as much as myself, and two men could carry across a pole, and at about one P.M. arrived at the Mua, where again I met with a friendly reception from captains Brind and Deane. Slept at the chief Fatua's.

Sunday, January 24: Started at about sun rise, and walked seven miles down to the sea shore. As we advanced towards the beach where

the boats lay, I must confess I did not like the appearance of the surf which ran very high; and from what I had so lately suffered among reefs and breakers, I could but behold them with some dismay; for this being the weather side of the island, there was some danger in launching the boats, as the whole coast is entirely bounded by the reef, and there is but one particular spot, about a boat's length, which even in moderate weather a passage over the reef can be attempted, and at this time it blew pretty fresh. Still, notwithstanding my timidity, I thought my duty called me to dare what others were determined upon: however, I was adept enough to read the minds of men sufficiently to see that few like myself approved it, *but from the apparent necessity*; the ships plying to windward between us and Eooa, waiting our coming off, while we, on the other hand, had no farther business to do on shore; the hogs, coconuts, yams, plantains, and stock being all in readiness to put into the boats. It being therefore determined upon to go on board, I could but check myself for so mistrusting God; and calling to mind his past mercies, I fearlessly committed myself into his hands, trusting that he who had so often delivered, would yet deliver; and here again, I may say, I very providentially escaped a watery grave; for, as the surf broke very heavy over the reef, it was advisable that one boat should make the trial first, and if the sea should

not prove quite so boisterous outside the reef as we expected, she was to hoist a whiff (a flag) as a signal for the other boats to follow. As Providence would have it, it was my lot to go in this boat, and we got safe over the reef, saving that the boat's stem just grazed a rock at the fall of a sea: having got well clear of the reef, we hoisted the signal for the other boats to follow, although the sea was very rough, and the ships five or six miles out in the offing. Accordingly Captain Brind's boat launched, and had no sooner got among the rollers than she upset, which Captain Deane seeing, immediately ordered his boat to launch to their assistance, and shared the same fate: one man was drowned, and with the utmost difficulty the others escaped: for Brind and Deane were both going down, clasped to each other, had they not been grasped by some of the natives, at the moment another roller was approaching which would inevitably have sealed their dissolution. Both boats were laden with stock, and every thing entirely lost with the missionary packet. This melancholy news spread quickly all over the island, and the Rev. Mr. Cross soon arrived to give every assistance and consolation the state of the survivors demanded. He informed them, that to-day Mr. and Mrs. Thomas had taken their departure for the Habai islands, whither they had previously been sent for by the king, who had already embraced the Gospel, from the preaching or instruction of Peter, a native

teacher from Tonga; and such proof has he given of his sincerity, that he (the king) has burned all the god-houses, and declares that the religion of Jehovah only shall henceforward be established within the limits of his jurisdiction. To close with the journal of this day, our boat got safe on board the Toward-Castle.

Wednesday, January 27: Wind E.S.E.: Since last date, in company with the Elizabeth, have been standing off and on in the channel between Eooa and Tonga. To-day, the captains having partially recovered, came on board. We, being short of water, took our departure for New Zealand; the Elizabeth will cruise a fortnight longer, and will go round to Nukualofa for the missionaries' packets.

Sunday, January 31: Passed Sunday island, one of the Curteis's. Saw whales, but blowing fresh, could not lower.

February 3: Made the land about the Poor Knights and Cape Brett; at ten p.m., shortened sail, and hove to in the mouth of the Bay of Islands till day light.

February 4: Light airs: worked into the Bay: at about ten a.m. sent a boat ashore at Tipipoona. At noon, anchored off Kororarika, but not before the ship was full of girls from the shore. The New Zealand girls are very partial to being on ship-board, and every vessel lying in the Bay of Islands is full of girls during their stay here, from the

chief's daughter, to the meanest *kookee*, or slave. From their ignorance of English manners they take great liberties, so much so that they are a continual pest and nuisance in a cabin, as it is literally impossible to do any kind of business where they are; and they are so very noisy, that the singing-out on board of a ship is melody when compared to them; and such an aversion have they to every thing which commands silence, that if they see you reading, or writing, or know you have not a girl on board, you must then be a missionary man, which, as a most opprobrious name, they will sneer out with as much disdain as a Turk who should call you a Christian dog. Not that they have any concern about our religion, farther than they know it forbids them coming on board to the sailors.

February 5: To-day, accompanied by Captain Brind, went on board the *Sisters*. Captain Duke, who very kindly welcomed me on board and gave me a general invitation to make his ship my home during her stay in the Bay of Islands, and moreover made me an offer of any clothing his slop chest afforded; at the same time reminding me of the weather we must expect till we had doubled Cape Horn: this generous offer needed not a repetition to one in my cast-away state, and demands my thanks to this warm-hearted seaman, but for whom I must have suffered most severely from cold in that most inhospitable of all climates, and doubtless the most gloomy passage in the known world, (round

the Horn) for all the other ships in the Bay had been a considerable time from England and could not spare me the necessary supplies I needed. Dined on board the Sisters, in company with the Rev. Messrs. White and Stack, of the Wesleyan mission, to whom I gave a copy of the Tonga missionary letter to the society, relating to the baptism and marriage of the king and queen, &c., and stated to them the distress of that mission for want of supplies, having learned from them that no less than three vessels have been lost, laden with stores for Tonga, viz.—the Columbian from England, lost off the Cape of Good Hope—our brig, the Minerva, from Sydney—and the brig Haweis just now missing, from Sydney, bound to Tongatabu, via New Zealand, with passengers, out three months, supposed to have been taken by pirates, or risen upon by prisoners stowed away in her previous to leaving the Colony. After dinner, in company with captains Brind, Duke, and others, went on shore at Kororarika, or the native town, some description of which I shall give previous to quitting New Zealand. But here I must not omit to acknowledge the kindness of Captain Brind, who, from the day of my arrival on board the Toward-Castle, treated me in every respect as a brother and a companion, and on our arrival in New Zealand introduced me to every captain in the Bay, all of whom made me welcome, and gave me a general invitation; in particular Captain Ren-

nox, of the Conway, who with captains Duke and Deane, made me an offer of any necessaries I stood in need of. To-day, Captain Brind procured me a passage home in the cabin with Captain King, of the Royal Sovereign, which lay in the Bay with her foremast out, being repaired.

February 20: The Toward-Castle having refreshed and got supplies, sailed; and, accordingly, after returning thanks to Captain Brind, for his very great kindness to me, I repaired on board the Royal Sovereign for a passage to England.

March 6: Till to-day nothing has particularly occurred farther than the arrival and departure of different ships: saving that about three weeks ago, a quarrel happened on board the Toward-Castle, between two New Zealand girls, who belonging to different tribes, have at length, on this day, been the cause of a bloody fight on the beach, between the opposite parties, within a quarter of a mile from, and within sight of the shipping.

The following is the substance of a conversation respecting this battle, as being the united testimony of different persons, who, as well as myself, were eye witnesses:—

The battle* was fought on Kororarika beach, in the Bay of Islands, between the chiefs Kivvee-

* The cause of this bloody fight as above observed, originated on account of a quarrel between a girl named Amoongha, a slave, belonging to Pomurra, and Akow, a relation of Kivvee-Kivvee. Amoongha seems to have called Akow in *English* a ——— which Akow understanding, threatened to beat her the first time they

Kivvee, and Pomurra, of the beach tribe; and Ururoa, chief of the Ngapui or Wangaroa tribe. The chiefs Rewa and Titore, who were present, remaining neutral.

met on the beach; and, accordingly, on the girls going on shore, these two Amazons met, and to it they set, Kivvee's wife and other chief women aiding them on, till the fight became general; and such seems to have been the spirit of revenge among these savage heroines, that one of Kivvee's daughters was seen eating or biting with revenge a handful of hair she had torn from off the head of one of her opponents, (a chief's daughter of the Ngapuis, a girl belonging to our ship, the Toward-Castle). In short, all the females on the beach seem to have been engaged. On the following day, *it was said*, that Captain —, whose girl was in the fray, offered the chief Rewa muskets and powder to take up the insult given to his daughter, and to urge the case more vehemently, upbraided him with cowardice if he did not revenge his daughter's cause. And this report was stated to the mission, and has since found its way to England, by means of this same man, (the enemy of Captain —) under a cloak of chastity and religious influence among missionaries; but I have to say, that if Captain — made an offer of muskets to Rewa to *make fight*, Captain —, the calumniator, lent Kivvee-Kivvee muskets to *fight with*. But as it is true that the quarrel originated among themselves; so, from what follows, it may be seen, the natives were rather instigated to hostilities by laws of their own, than provoked to it by any allurements which a foreigner might throw in their way. The above proposal of Captain —, it is said, Rewa stated to Wareporka, who, with the sensibility of a man, replied, "why should we take up muskets to end, in the blood of our brave men, a quarrel commenced among girls;" and refused taking any part in the fray: nor do I think a New Zealander in any case would be instigated to declare war, or even quarrel with another tribe for the sake of any bribe which an European might think to tempt him with to do so where it was contrary to the custom of his country; any more than he would forbear hostilities for any reason which a missionary might adopt that he should not do so if he felt himself aggrieved: as ever zealous for his own honour and the customs of the tribe of his forefathers, he feels he needs not the advice nor interference of strangers, whose principles are so directly opposite to his own: this it is, which makes him so very indifferent to the instruction of our missionaries, and, although he may be constrained to confess their advice is all very good, yet he will tell you plainly, *he no want maka talk about Jesus Christ*; however, with regard to any moral good or evil, which neither interferes with his religion or customs, he is commonly ready to admit as well as Europeans themselves.

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Since this quarrel took place between the two girls, the beach tribe has been almost in continual agitation, expecting daily the invasion of the Ngapuis: hence muskets have been firing with but little intermission night and day, and the war-dance, in defiance of the enemy, has been daily in practice, and it appears not without an occasion, for to-day the Ngapui men came pouring over the hills to take satisfaction for the insult given to their chiefs' daughters, and commenced by pulling up their kumeras, or sweet potatoes, and destroying the grounds, the common method of aggravating their opponents to a fight; but which appears to have been amicably settled, as it is said by the English sawyers residing on the beach, that the chiefs of both parties after some consultation embraced each other, and the Ngapui men were actually returning over the hills towards their own district, which also was observed from the shipping, when, suddenly, from some cause or other unknown, one of them turned about and fired into the town, upon which a general engagement commenced. So numerous were the shot flying in every direction, and from which party it was difficult to determine, that several balls struck Captain Deane's boat in going off, and wounded two native men belonging to it, so that Captain Deane was compelled to retreat for shelter in a sawyer's hut; where, with others, they were obliged to lie down flat upon the floor till the firing ceased, which

lasted from about ten A.M., till past noon, when the Ngapuis retreated.—Kivvee-Kivvee's daughter, who was killed, with numbers of the wounded, were brought on board our ship, the Royal Sovereign: and some were carried to other ships; a coffin was made for the former, and she was sent on shore to her people.

Some died of their wounds, and some few underwent amputation, but the very best were great sufferers, though the most patient creatures, under affliction, I ever beheld. Among the number on board our ship, was a young woman who received a musket-ball in her stern; and, on board the Princess Mary, I saw an infant about two and a half years old with its ankle bone shattered, but as the father who had it in charge would not suffer the leg to be taken off, the child died the next morning. If such were the sufferings where surgical aid was to be had, what must have been the wretchedness of the wounded Ngapius, who were seen dragged over the hills by their companions, without any farther application to their wounds than binding up with a piece of native cloth! Behold how great a fire a small spark has kindled. Nearly a hundred human creatures killed and wounded, originating wholly on account of two paltry girls calling each other ill names.

It is here, amid the sufferings, ignorance, superstition, ferociousness and degradation of the heathen, that a European, if he has not a film over his eyes as thick as gross darkness, must be constrained to see the distin-

guishing goodness of God towards him as an individual, and to lift up his heart in gratitude to that all-gracious and benign Being, that he was born in a civilized and Christian country ; while here he beholds his fellow-creatures, not only destitute of the common gifts of healing, but of almost every comfort in life : the height of savage attainments being that to construct a canoe or hut, or a mat to cover them ; and others, still more debased, without house or covering, men, women, and children, wander about the woods unconscious and void of shame, and as destitute of a home as the kangaroo or wild animals surrounding them ; for, like these, they lay down upon the grass, having no other shelter than a bush or tree to screen them from the piercing winds and frost by night, and the heat of the sun by day ; and his only means of subsistence is that procured by the chase.

Sunday, March 7: Yesterday we had hoped it was all settled, but at day light this morning the action recommenced, and in this skirmish the great chief Hanghee, of the Ngapuis, was killed, where-upon they again retreated. Kivvee-Kivvee and Pomurra finding they were likely to be annoyed by the enemy, who it is said were three to one against them, tabooed or consecrated the beach in honour of the deceased chief, (who but for this unfortunate fray was one of their particular friends), and immediately set fire to the town, deserted the beach with all their tribe, and resorted to Kovva-kovva ; where, it is understood, they will leave their women and children for safety, and as soon as they have strengthened themselves by the addition of reserved tribes, they will return to the beach again and extirpate the Ngapuis, who are

now bordering on a neighbouring hill opposite to the shipping, and then re-build and inhabit the beach again as before. Pomurra is said to be a young chief of extraordinary courage.

In this fight we learn that it was the determination of the Ngapuis to kill the chief Kivvee—Kivvee's wife and two eldest daughters, the objects of their resentment, and, as a retaliation for the insult given, they being the principals in aggravating the quarrel to a general fight among the girls, on the first onset; but in this, they succeeded only in killing the second eldest of these girls, who they shot just as she was stepping into Captain Deane's boat, in the act of pushing off from the beach; nine men also were killed, and about fifteen wounded of Pomurra and Kivvee's tribes; and of the enemy I was informed afterwards by the chief Wareporka, that there were ten killed belonging to the chief Tarea,—five to Wareporka,—seven to Ururoa,—five to Moko—nine to Tohitapu, and one other, thirty-seven in all, including the chief Hanghee, and nine wounded, three of whom died of their wounds.

In the above account, it will be seen there were men killed belonging to various tribes or chiefs, whereas none but the Ngapuis and beach tribes were actually engaged: to account for this, these men lent themselves, or volunteered their services, while their chiefs and the body of the tribe remained neutral, standing their ground opposite to each

other, as it were umpires, some in favour of the one party and some of the other, so that had either of the parties standing opposite interfered, the other would have commenced fight immediately, which did not occur, as before observed, Rewa and Titore remained neutral, being allied either by marriage, or by kindred. Too much blood had been spilled already on such a paltry occasion.

It may be observed here, to the praise of our missionaries, that nothing was wanting on their part to bring about a reconciliation; for, although the parties might have been equally desirous to acquiesce to their proposals, as consistent with their own reasonings, yet such are the customs of nations and tribes, that rather than endure the idea of being thought to humble, a whole nation must suffer by it; and in spite of all remonstrances the savage will risk both body and soul rather than submit, even to the calls of his own conscience, or to a peaceable requisition.

But the New Zealander is a savage by nature, and when engaged in wars, may justly be said no longer to rank among men; for, vulture like, he never seems to think himself revenged till he has sucked the blood, and is glutted with the flesh of his enemies; while the mother and the children triumph over the dead, and even sport with the prey. Surely may we say, "The dark places of the earth are the habitations of cruelty," for what a carnage, what a scene was before us, of the dead lying above ground, whose bodies were refused interment, (the

better to enjoy the renewed gratification of feasting their eyes upon the victims of their revenge, and exulting over them in brutal sport; for the slain in battle lay where they fell for days above ground to be eaten by dogs, till they stank so intolerably that from necessity they were compelled to burn them: these I saw as often as I went on shore, with the flesh partly eaten, their entrails out, the bodies mangled and swollen the size of two common men, while the flies had blown them in a state not to be described, and the boys were harpooning them with poles or long sticks and sporting over them with stones; even so long as ten days after, when the Ngapuis had possession of the beach, I saw a man dragged out from under the earth, upon the beach, in a most horrible state, whom they burned, while a hoard of all ages sat round the broiling corpse totally insensible to human feelings, as though it had been a dead dog dragged out of a ditch; and while the more demure were descanting upon the subject, and the wars, the younger were triumphing in the sport: this was one of Pomurra's kookee's which had been slain and buried by his tribe previous to their quitting Kororarika.

Respecting the *sentiments of the chiefs*, this may differ somewhat from the missionary account which must be admitted the standard of truth as far as they knew; but with respect to what occurred, I am aware I shall not differ materially in substance from them, for the ships lying within a quarter of a

mile from the beach, we had the advantage of them, the mission station being two miles distant. It is true they were frequently at Kororarika after the fight, and I believe just about the conclusion: but we were always on the spot, and were rarely without one or other of the chiefs on board. I do not presume to say, that I ever witnessed the natives eating a human body; for the natives about the Bay of Islands are aware this is an abomination to white people, so that if they proposed a relish of this kind, the spot chosen for the feast would be somewhere back in the bush, or at night, when the sailors were all on board the ships; but, certain it is, that the New Zealanders are unquestionably cannibals, which not only Captain Cook and other navigators have certified, but to this day there are whites residing at New Zealand at different parts who have witnessed it: indeed, it is no uncommon thing to kill a slave, either for caprice, for offence, or for sacrifice; it is reported that two or three girls have been sacrificed as offerings to their gods on account of the present melancholy disturbance, and that human sacrifices are prevalent among them; a circumstance which happened in the late fray is an instance:—A young native of the beach tribe having shot his man, (a chief) immediately ran up to him ere he was dead, and with his hatchet or tomahawk cleft asunder his breast, cut off a piece of his liver and walked away with it, which he informed one of the missionaries who witnessed

the fact, that it was for the Attooa, or New Zealand god.

To conclude with this subject, relating to what happened while the Royal Sovereign lay in the Bay of Islands, previous to her leaving, peace was by no means concluded, but something like a cessation of arms for the present. Kivvee-Kivvee and Pomurra had taken refuge at Kovva-Kovva, while the Ngapuis had possession of the beach, the principal station in the Bay of Islands, most desirable and valuable on account of the shipping. Fleets of war canoes were passing and repassing, going towards and coming from Kovva-Kovva, while a very numerous party from Hokaanga were within a day's march of it, but whether for or against we could not positively learn: but both have their friends or allies. Kivvee-Kivvee and Pomurra are said to have all the river Thames on their side; Wareporka commands all as far north as the North Cape; and the Ngapuis are a tribe never conquered, being an ally of the late notorious Shonghee, who was in England (particularly at Cambridge) with the chief Wykato a few years back. Shonghee was the Buonaparte of New Zealand, and spread terror wherever he went.

Deep are the mysteries of Providence, but there is no doubt, that he who doeth all things well and ordereth all events to his own glory, has permitted this little spark to kindle so great a flame for the bringing about the salvation of this people by a way they never dreamt nor thought of; as there is every hope that this silly

fight, originating almost out of nothing, will pave the way for more missionary exertions; as when they find it too late to recall their dead to life, perhaps they may remember the advice of their best friends the missionaries, who hitherto have besought them to peace in vain.

My stay at New Zealand was short, during which time I spent but few hours on shore daily. My account, therefore, will merely be the result of two month's observation.

Of the New Zealanders, then, I was going to say, with others before me, that they are a brave and warlike people; but, upon due consideration, I am persuaded this is a mistaken assumption, and, for brave and warlike, we must substitute—a filthy, blood-thirsty, savage race: literally speaking, the New Zealander is the tiger among men, and being of a most revengeful, unforgiving, and ferocious disposition, suffers not the least offence to pass unresented, or unpunished, even for generations that are past; hence the continual wars among them upon pretences of real or imaginary evils done to their tribes by their forefathers in the persons of their chiefs, whose cause they unanimously espouse—whose death they ever revenge with blood!—as, in the present instance, the death of the chief Hanghee, who was killed by the beach tribe, is an extra cause for further hostilities till revenge be satisfied; should another great chief fall, retaliation must be made for his blood also, and so on till a compensation of blood be made *to square the yards*; and thus many tribes have become totally extinct through

continual fightings. But to give to every man his due, the New Zealander, especially the chief of a tribe, is commonly a man of dignified and rather commanding appearance; in conversation, shows much vivacity, quick apprehension and sound judgment; as upon the chief Rewa being sent for on board the Toward-Castle, to hear the complaint in which the present disturbance originated, I could but be astonished to see with what patience and calmness, with the seriousness of a judge, he sat for an hour upon the cabin locker, with his eyes fixed downwards upon the deck, attending to a party of the disputants, without speaking half a dozen words; and, indeed, I was told more than once by missionaries who understood the language perfectly, that some of these chiefs are very sensible men and far superior to many Europeans; and when not plunged in wars and quarrels, in the whole, are a conversant and intelligent race of men. But here is his misfortune: the offspring of some Anak, this truly son of Mars is a murderer from his youth, and like his forefathers, for generations past, has been a worshipper of devils: hence the abject slave of the father of murderers, his delight is in cruelty, and as he neither sleeps nor travels without his murderous weapons at his side, so he is ever ready to the conflict, and, at a moment's warning, divests himself of his *kakahoo*, or mat, and appears in his naked skin all ready for the fight. But since the introduction of muskets, *it is said*, they have rather

a dread of war, as too many get killed and their tribes cut off. Be this as it may, their call for ammunition is very great, of which they must possess a vast quantity, as they are with little intermission firing off, night and day; and no doubt a combined force could muster two thousand muskets. A musket is held almost in adoration among them, and is well known to be the most valuable article the New Zealander possesses, so that whether he has now any dread of war or not, his unceasing cry for muskets—his indifference to the life of a fellow creature—and withal, a thirst for his blood and flesh, and the very shallow ideas he can entertain of a future state, all serve to show that he glories in war. However, very trifling quarrels do not end in blood-shed, excepting where a chief is concerned, especially if a recompense can be made by payment, and this is almost universally the case in their quarrels with the Europeans, when a musket will compensate for almost any trespass, even the murder of a kookee; the common price of a slave being a musket, value ten or twelve shillings: but satisfaction they will have, or cut off your communication for water, wood, or trade of any kind, as they know ships come here for refreshment, and for one ship to resist by force, would make it worse for all others, till a recompense be made. But as muskets, axes, &c. are not easily to be obtained among themselves in payment when trifling quarrels ensue, by way of retaliation, hostilities

commence by plunder, or destroying the kumera grounds, as, in the above case, which is satisfaction for almost any dispute: but as the kumera grounds are generally tabooed or sacred, so this kind of retaliation rather aggravates the opposing party to further hostilities, than to an acknowledgement of the trespass, and thus open war is declared, and the man you were conversing with but a few minutes before in the most perfect harmony and sensibility, you now see worked up in the imagination to such a pitch, that you would think him by his appearance to be rather a demon than a human being: Stark naked, his hide besmeared with a mixture of oil and red ochre—his hair neither long nor short, matted together, standing out in all directions, decorated perhaps with feathers—a musket, spear, or spike over his shoulder, or an axe or a club in his hand, and a bayonet or a hatchet hanging at his back or side to a belt round the middle; and thus equipped with the rest of his mob running to and fro, halting, jumping, and hallooing as if to rend the air with a horror which speaks defiance, revenge, and death to their enemies, they make the very ground with the hollow sound of their feet to tremble under them. And, methinks, if ever the image of God was defaced in the outward appearance of man, that of the New Zealander at this moment eclipses all, for they are not only tattooed, but scarified, for the faces of some of the chiefs are so disfigured that scarcely any of the original skin is

perceivable. And their war songs, so unlike those of the American Indian, appropriate to incite their men to battle, are every thing but good; and instead of being songs of defiance to their enemies, they are a medley of the most disgusting beastiality not to be repeated; in these songs the women and children endeavour to rival the men.

In fight they have no discipline, but before it commences they close in a mob, run to and fro, sing, jump, and halloo in defiance of the enemy; but no sooner have they discharged the first round, than they retreat behind some tree, bush, canoe, hut, &c., re-load and fire again; and thus it becomes a sort of bush fight, every man marking out his victim from the place of his retreat, till some one of the opposite party, more cunning than himself, picks him off in return: those who have no muskets, suddenly rush from their ambush and fall upon their prey unperceived, and with a club, spear, hatchet, axe, or tommahawk, either dispatch him without mercy; or if it be a boy or girl, they secure the prize for a slave, or kookee; and if a chief, make a prize of his *moko*, or head: these they commonly cure or preserve as a trophy of their bravery, or sell to the shipping for muskets, &c., and thus it is we sometimes see these heads exhibited in shows at our English fairs. But the object of every tribe is to secure the dead bodies of their own chiefs, if possible; thus the

Ngapuis were seen from the shipping, dragging their slain and wounded over the hills at the close of the action. It is said, this battle was decided in favour of the beach tribe, but I do not see this, or why burn the town and evacuate the place? There might be political motives for so doing, but it is evident, in the present instance, the beach tribe saw it impossible to maintain their ground any longer; and fearing to be overpowered and slain every one of them, they wisely departed.

To give an idea of the value of the life set upon a fellow creature in New Zealand, the following may serve.—A girl belonging to——, on board the *Princess Mary*, being displeased with her man, jumped overboard, as is common with them upon such occasions, (they being most expert swimmers) but as it happened, she was discovered from the ship before she reached the shore, and a boat was dispatched after her; but determinedly sulky and not to be pacified, as soon as the boat came up with her she dived, and this she did as often as the boat approached her, till she dived to rise no more, and was found dead upon the beach in the morning; when a chief accordingly went on board to demand a recompense (a musket), saying, “that he would have thought nothing of it if the girl had been a kookee, but that she was his niece.”

One would scarcely credit the distance these girls will swim, and the length of time they will float upon the water, especially when we consider

they never pull off their lower garment in the presence of men, which is a flaxen mat, and when wet I think cannot weigh less than twenty pounds; with this upon them they will swim nearly an hour: thus every evening you may see them like so many seals swimming round the ships, washing themselves preparatory to going to bed, for they know that Europeans detest the smell of fish oil, (which is a precious wash with these Venuses,) which they lavishly bestow upon their heads and persons: and a New Zealander is said never to admire his *wyheena*, or woman, so much as when she is besmeared all over with a mixture of oil and a kind of red ochre, which gives her a copper coloured or brick dust appearance: and this seems to be the highest style of New Zealand fashion. But a New Zealander thinks little of women. His male children are every thing, and the father carries them about with him from their infancy, and will suffer them to strike the mother. The New Zealanders smell very obnoxious if their *kakahoo*, or mats, have been on any time, for as they rarely wash in their native state, so their mats are drenched with oil, and are so pernicious that if they pass to windward of you their smell is unbearable; with respect to the women, saving their inhuman disposition and uncouth and noisy way, I believe there is no class more notably disposed: they will wash, iron, make and mend with instruction, equal to any Europeans; and

though filthy in their native habits, yet make every effort to render themselves comely and attractive on ship-board, and take great delight in mimicking the English lady.

The hair of the New Zealander, especially that of the men, is almost universally untidy, rarely or never combed: some few I have seen with it turned up smooth, and tied on the top of the head like the women. I have also observed among the women some of them who had brown hair, which being neither long nor short, stood out in all directions: and those who had black hair, took great pains with it, sometimes it being turned up on the crown like the Europeans, and sometimes flowing over the shoulders, when I think it very attractive, being long, thick, and black.

The words, good and evil, virtue and vice, have no meaning with them; and as for *gratitude*, or thanks, it is *remarked*, that they are so totally insensible of a kindness done to them, as an obligation on their part, that there is not a word in their language to express it. The New Zealanders are most notorious thieves; and at noon day, as well as in the darkness of the night, in spite of a constant look out, if possible they will cut away the lead off the cut-water and quarter-galleries, to make bullets with; and, in short, nothing is too hot nor too heavy for them, and when no canoes are alongside they have been known to jump overboard with almost as great a weight as a man could well

carry. It is not an uncommon thing for them to sell you an article, and steal it again before they go out of the ship, and get it ashore with them: I heard for a fact, from one of the persons concerned, that the noted Shonghee sold a pig to three different captains, and stole it away again.

Kororarika, the native town, cannot easily be described, as there is little of form or regularity, save that each chief has his allotment of ground fenced in with eight or ten feet paling, in which is inclosed his own and subordinate huts, the latter ranged along the sides and his own at one end, which is larger than the huts of the common people, and differently ornamented in front by some rude figures of men as gods, which, with the doors, are daubed with a kind of red ochre; the door-way being no larger in many of them than to admit one person to crawl in upon all fours: but some few of them you may walk upright into, while others are neither larger nor higher than a pig-stye, the whole being covered with a kind of sedge or long grass, the roof projecting beyond the door-way four or six feet as a shelter from rain, and in warm weather to sleep under, as the New Zealander never eats in his hut, which is rather a sleeping-room, and a store-house for his muskets, powder, and weapons of war than a habitation to live in. The whole of Kororarika stands upon the beach, which is of black gravel and dirty coloured pebbles; and the native ovens, being so many holes in the ground,

in no regular form, all over their inclosures, give their town a wretched and filthy appearance, so that the natives squatting down under their dirty stinking *kakahoos*, or blankets, the colour of the ground itself, bespeak every thing but comfort to an European mind. The New Zealander is very fond of a pipe, which serves both for ornament and use, for when he is done smoking, he puts the pipe through a large hole which is perforated in his ear, and it is suspended by the bowl. Here we see that nature in its simple state requires but little to supply its real wants; hence the New Zealanders, and indeed in all uncivilized life, the inhabitants are never troubled about seats to sit on, covering for the head, or the quality of their food, as when tired or inconvenient to stand, indifferent as to place, they are seated on the ground; and thus both large and small parties are seen squatting down in every direction, and here and there one perched like a fowl, or a forlorn pelican upon a log. The New Hollander shelters himself under the lee of a piece of bark; and all, indiscriminately, eat whatever Providence lays in their way; and, wherever I have been, I have seen the stranger a welcome guest; even the cannibal of New Zealand will ask you to partake of his kumera roots and cockles; and the wild New Hollanders will share with the *white fellow* (as they call Europeans,) his fish or his kangaroo, and give him the preference of a choice piece. At least so I have found it: others may have fared differently.

Religion among the New Zealanders is a kind of demon or spirit worship, most trying to missionaries, who, saving among themselves in their own domestic visits to each other, from the very little encouragement they meet with from these cannibals, have not any thing around them which can give an hours recreation or pleasure when the shipping is away: for, although they have the common necessities of life, yet comparing the enjoyments of friends and social converse and comforts of home, with the company of these filthy cannibals and gloomy regions, they may be said to be literally buried alive. If such men were not truly zealous for the salvation of their fellow-men there would not be a single inducement for them to remain here: but hoping almost against hope for sixteen years, they have at length made a beginning, and have, I believe on this station about one hundred hearers, including the school children, some of whom are remarkable good sempstresses: but for myself I should rather fear that too many of these attend for the loaves and fishes, as the mission is obliged to provide them with both food and clothing, so very opposite to the discipline of the Tonga mission. But Mr. Davis informs me, that he has no doubt but many of them are acquainted with the leading truth of the Gospel, and that some have experienced the power of it in their own souls. The principal mission at the Bay of Islands is Pyhea, or, as the sailors call it, *heaven*: it is two miles from Kororarika or *hell-side*, which is

on the opposite side of the Bay. The missionaries are represented, *in contempt of their calling*, as being the authors of these names, but I will endeavour to explain the fact, as I received it from one of our Church missionaries.—A native girl, who had been some considerable time at the school at Pyhea, resolved to quit the mission, and go over to her own place, Kororarika, that she might enjoy the same privilege with other girls in common, in going on board the ships: at this ingratitude, after so much kindness and instruction, reared with the tenderness of their own children, of course the missionaries strongly remonstrated and besought her with tears, but in vain. At length seeing her bent upon her own destruction, they told her, if she was determined to go to *hell*, there was nobody could keep her from it: the girl, either ignorantly, or wilfully, mistaking the meaning of this expression, on her arrival on board the ships, stated that the missionaries had said that Kororarika was *hell*; and the sailors, ever ready to complete the comparison, denominated Pyhea, *heaven*.

But they are not all sterling Christians who attend the mission schools is but too evident: at one time while our second mate was on shore at Pyhea, a mother came to the school and actually demanded her daughter, who had been some time under instruction, and said that she was going to send her on board a ship: in vain did her teachers, the missionaries wives, expostulate with the mis-

guided, deluded parent on the evil: all the evil she could see was that her daughter was murdering her time in the schools, while other girls, at the expence of their virtue, were earning for their fathers, axes, muskets, and powder. I have known a chief to bring his daughter, a girl of not more than ten or twelve years of age, on board the ships for these purposes. What pangs must these truly mothers in Israel suffer, when after labouring so long to bring up these their adopted children in the knowledge of the true God, to see them matured and qualified to be teachers of others, dragged away by their heathenish parents to the basest purposes. One of these school girls was on board the Royal Sovereign, and that she was sensible of her error is clear, for she always hid herself when the missionaries were on board.

It is affirmed by the whalers, that it would be impossible to prohibit the girls from coming on board, for they would get no trade: it is true the chiefs would feel themselves much hurt if this law were enforced, as it is the principal gain they make of their female slaves and daughters. Those who assert this, absolutely put themselves under submission to cannibals; as their thirst is so great for muskets and powder, that rather than put an end to trade, they would come upon the most humiliating terms, not being ignorant of the profits and great advantage they derive from our shipping, for if deprived of trade for one year only, their whole stock of ammunition would be expended, and their muskets at once of no avail: and they know, if they were to deny shipping supplies here, (the Bay of Islands,) they could be equally well refreshed at the River Thames.

Missionaries are not ship-agents, and it would be at the peril of their lives to interfere concerning the girls, this lays entirely with the master of the vessel. From this consideration, then, the whole removal of the evil is in the power of the master, but if the *ship owners*, or Government do not interfere to put a stop to it, little or nothing is likely to be done toward the civilization of this people, as the admitting girls on board our ships, is the main hinderance to our missionary exertions; and the captains themselves confess, that which the missionaries build up in one year, the shipping pull down in one hour: but it is now high-day with England, and time that this enlightened nation should lay to heart the civilization and conversion of these cannibals, (otherwise a fine race of men,) and thereby put an end to an evil which doubtless brings a curse upon many of our south seamen.

The Church mission, from various false reports, has been very much abused and misrepresented, and lies have not only been carried home to the society, but all over the South Seas. I feel happy in saying, that during our stay here, the missionaries met the captains of different ships face to face, and the latter were fully satisfied that the mission had done every thing in their power towards supplying ships really in need, even to half their stock, and that at a time when they were short themselves; although it was observed that missionaries were not ship-agents, and if ships were really in distress for want of supplies which New Zealand did not afford, the Colony was not above a week's sail, where all kinds of ship's stores were to be had.

It may be observed here, that I have been very officious in the defence of missions: I grant it, but it is in cases where the mission dare not plead for themselves, as, respecting the girls, if it were known by the chiefs that the mission had interfered, they would set fire to their premises and destroy them; for the truth of which we appeal to captains Brind, Christie, Deane, Duke, King, Rennox, Snowden, and others: indeed, as a member of the Established Church, I should consider myself as great an enemy to the mission as the reporters

of lies themselves, if, in writing a narrative wherein these belied men are concerned, I did not thus show, the evils spread abroad originated in the conversation of ill-minded men, to whom the missionary character, since it is so very opposed to their principles, is every thing but good, (see page 34) and thus they construe any thing said by them to the very worst of evil; hence, as the story goes, all over the South Seas, the Rev. H. Williams is the — in the world, for if a poor cast-away sailor goes to him to ask relief, “he tells him to be off, and to bear up for a cockle-bed.” In short, I heard so much of this gentleman before I saw him, that I made up my mind to call upon him, that I might ascertain if there was any truth in this matter, of which I had been assured from various quarters, and I mentioned the same to the Rev. Mr. Turner, at Tonga: at length, having sifted out the truth both from his enemies and his friends, I learned, that some time ago, either a cast-away seaman, or some man left behind from his ship, had applied to him for relief, whom he employed as a sawyer, and paid him but too liberally for his work, so much so, that the fellow forgetting his daily obligations was endeavouring to take liberties with the native girls belonging to the mission, and when reprovod for his conduct, became unbearably saucy; but Mr. Williams having formerly been a master in the Navy and an old man-of-war’s man, told him, in the language of a sailor, “now you have got your belly filled, and seem to pour contempt upon us for the kindness shown you, the next time you are hungry you may *bear up for a cockle-bed*,” and very justly too, to the ungrateful guest who should thus treat a benefactor. For my own part I have no private or personal interest in defending the missionary cause, farther than gratitude for common kindness; but let the saddle be put on the right horse; as if Mr. W., or any other missionary had acted in the manner in which they are too often described in the South Seas, I should have as readily espoused the cause of their opponents; but I am so fully persuaded of the missionary character, that I am convinced that no hypocrite would suffer himself to be literally

buried alive, shut out from all society, and forsake home, friends, and all the domestic comforts of an English fire-side, with its pleasures and recreations, to go and spend a solitary life among uncivilized and heathenish savages, for a bare salary which will merely afford them the common necessities of life, and which they are often deprived for want of timely supplies.

March 20: Wrote to Sydney, by favour of the Rev. Mr. Marsden, chaplain of the Colony, to his Excellency Governor Darling, relative to our men left behind at Turtle island, begging him to send a government vessel to their relief.

March 26: Wind south, took our departure from New Zealand: but such was the state of affairs among the natives, that it was considered adviseable for no one ship to be left alone in Kororarika Bay, and accordingly the Royal Sovereign for England, the Anne for Whaling Ground, and the American ship India for New Brunswick, got under weigh together: the ship Elizabeth, which had not completed her water, having gone to the entrance of the river towards Kovva-Kovva, and the Barque Woodford, of Sydney, to Tippona. This day closes the second part of my narrative; the following concludes with a few remarks on our passage home round Cape Horn.

March 31: Moderate winds and fair. Latitude 33° south, longitude 179° east.

April 5: Calm. Many albatrosses swimming under our stern and quarter, like a flock of geese:

caught seven with hook and line: latitude $40^{\circ}28'$ south, longitude 170° west.

April 8: Good Friday: gloomy weather with storms, and rain, and contrary winds these last forty-eight hours. Hove to under storm sails. Caught an albatross. Latitude 43° south, longitude 164° west.

Easter Sunday: Wind fair. Ship scudding under double reefed fore and main-top sails and fore sail. Latitude 45° south, longitude 157° west.

April 14: Becalmed and very light winds for nearly three days past: very unusual in these latitudes at this season. Captain King, I feel grateful in saying, is particularly kind, and has made me an offer of what books I wish to read. Our officers and doctor also are very friendly towards me, to whom I must confess myself daily indebted for their kindness. But a few days ago, (the 10 inst.) I feared we should have to put on a long face, the pumps being almost incessantly jogging: but, it appears, the leak is principally in the upper works, and not in the hold, as we feared, as the ship now makes no more water than in harbour. Saw whales and lowered the quarter boats, but they were going too fast to windward to come up with them before sun set; the boats therefore returned on board. Latitude 47° south, longitude 150° west.

April 18: Sunday, Wind N.N.E. Flocks of sea fowl about. Stormy weather with miserably

cold and constant rains. Latitude 48° south, longitude 155° west.

April 23: Wind S. S. W. Brisk gales, and cloudy weather. Discovered rather a dangerous leak forward in the coal-hole. It appears to be a decayed plank entirely eaten through just under one of the breast-hooks, and lets in water as from the bung-hole of a cask. The condition of this old ship may be imagined when the worn-out ring-bolts have been drawn out by hand. Latitude 53° south, longitude 129° west.

Sunday, April 26: A heavy storm from the westward, and the sea running extremely high, foaming and snowy white during the squalls, threatening to break every moment upon us, while the ship labouring much, took in the water over both gunwales. We were now scudding under a close reefed foresail, having been obliged to furl the main-top sail on account of some of the geer giving way, and no cordage ready to repair it, and there being a tremendous following sea, which had already stove one of our quarter boats, hoisted to the davit-heads: at about eleven A.M. we were all but completely pooped,* a heavy sea having broke upon our stern, which so completely buried the whole of the after part of the ship, that those who were on the fore-castle and saw it, described her as lying motionless and water logged, in the midst of

* A ship is said to be pooped, when a heavy following sea breaks in upon the hinder part of her, and sends her down stern foremost, or otherwise does considerable damage.

a white foam, a ship's length on each side of her, while for some seconds she appeared to be sinking to rise no more; but the fore-sail catching the wind again, helped her, when the bulwarks giving way, the water dispersed in every direction. This account I received from the mate who was on the bowsprit, and saw the sea coming ere it reached the ship. For my own part I had been on the poop all the morning, watching the seas till within five minutes before the sea struck the ship, when thinking to myself it was a fine Sunday morning, I took an opportunity of retiring to my cabin, and scarcely had I shut to the door, when suddenly I heard a dreadful crash, and before I could look round, my cabin was literally filled with water, as a cask, and myself in the midst. It is impossible to describe what I felt for the moment; of course I thought the ship was going down, and how astonished was I, on turning about, to see day-light abaft through the cabin windows, the sea having stove in the dead-lights and absolutely broke down the bulk head of my cabin, which was not the aftermost by one: such is the irresistible force of the sea, that every thing that obstructs its way must either be dashed to pieces, hurled along before, or borne down with it, save the rocks and shores which alone can say, "hitherto shall thy proud waves be stayed." The fact is, the sea had struck the ship at an unlucky moment, and as we had not sufficient sail on, by reason of her decrepit state, to keep

her before the sea, she was exposed to every swell with threatening danger, and it was God's mercy only that she did not sink for ever.—As it was; our whole stern bulwarks were carried away, and all the staunchions which were of oaken timber six or eight inches thick, broke short off, level with the deck; our poop and round-house also, with the wheel and its very oaken stand was wrenched from the deck, and the iron bolts or fastenings were bent double as though they had been lace pins, and the whole concern with the two men at the wheel were washed forward under the windlass: two scuttle butts of water, and two harness casks of provisions which had been well lashed were rolling about fore and aft, the binnacle and the compasses belonging to it were floating about in the lee-scuppers, the half-deck hatches, and the very sky-light with its iron gratings were all unshipped from their fastenings, and swept away as though they had been pieces of cork or broken deal. In short she was a complete wreck above board, and little better below, for the dead lights were stove in, through which, and down the steerage and sky-light, the water poured into the cabin by tuns, forcing its way through the bulk-head, or partition of my cabin, which, as before observed, was not the aftermost, so that for some minutes nobody knew but the whole stern was stove in; till the steward reported that it was only the dead-lights. At this rejoicing news, Captain King, who appeared unusually compo-

sed in so truly alarming a case, when every soul on board supposed the ship was going down, watched an opportunity and hove the ship to, under the mizen stay sail, when the carpenters and coopers set about to knock up temporary dead-lights and to secure the stern; while the men turned-to at the pumps which they got to suck before dark, by which time the sea was considerably gone down: and here I cannot but adore the goodness of God towards me in a more especial manner, for, had I not so very providentially gone below at the moment I did, I should have been washed overboard, or should scarcely have escaped broken limbs, as I was standing on the poop beside the round-house, holding on by the lashings of the spanker boom, and the whole of these, with the taffrel and stern bulwarks, must have come against me. In this storm Captain King calculated the sea to rise one hundred feet from the base. Latitude 54° south, longitude 115° west.

May 2: Employed this week in repairing damages: constant gales with hail, snow, and rain: as last Sunday we had a dry storm, (dry above head) with the wind at west, so to-day we had the sister gale, and a truly wet one, with the wind at S. E., and if we were in danger then, we are not much less so to-day, and much more cold and miserable by incessant rains, sleet, snow, and a heavy sea and contrary winds, with half the men laid up, while the other half have neither spirit nor life either to

work or pump, which last are continually jogging in order to keep the ship afloat: add to which they are obliged to put up with the hard fare of biscuit and cold water, as the washing of the sea and rains would not admit of a fire in the cabouse, or cook-house, and some of them have scarcely had a dry thread upon them these three weeks; and what is worse, are doubting among themselves if the ship in her decrepit condition will ever round the Horn at this season, as we have not a coil of spare cordage in the ship; and, to add to our distress, every day the rigging is giving way, and this morning at day break, we split our fore top mast stay-sail, mizen stay-sail, mizen, and main top-sail, and we have not a second sail to bend till all these are repaired. Hence, throughout this uncomfortable day, the ship has been hove to under storm stay-sails. A more miserable day could not well have been. Latitude 57° south, longitude 90° west.

May 11: In latitude 60° south, longitude 72° west, fell in with the Princess Mary of London, which had left the Bay of Islands five days before us: in the late storms she had carried away her fore yard, fore top galland yard, spanker-boom, and martingales. Being calm, Captain Grey and doctor spent the day on board our ship. Numerous sea-fowl about the ship, but the superstition of the people have determined the catching them to be the harbinger or cause of all bad weather; this logic might do for a New Zealand savage, or

a poor deluded heathen, but it is beneath the character of an English sailor to advance such stuff. I had caught several of these birds before, but not willing to displease the people, I made up my mind not to try again till we had got round the Horn into a more temperate climate, when I hoped their superstition would subside, but to-day I was tempted to put out my line again, and caught one, which offended the men so much that I let it go.

As nothing particular occurred on the passage after this, farther than in bad weather, the pumps were continually jogging, and in fine weather every hour: I shall now cut short my narrative: suffice it then to say, after a passage of one hundred and thirty-one days, (the ten first weeks of which our people had scarcely a dry thread upon them,) that at about seven P.M, we anchored in Margate Roads, having seen no land, nor spoke but one ship (the Princess Mary) since our departure from the Bay of Islands till this day; being, by ship's account, Thursday, August 4th, but according to Greenwich time, Wednesday, August 3rd; having gained one day in sailing round the World in an easterly direction.

THE END.

LETTER, &c.

THE following is the *substance* of my Letter alluded to in page 2, to the Right Honourable the Master-Wardens and Elder Brethren of the Trinity House; the purport of which was to appoint **PORT EXAMINERS** and **PORT INSPECTORS**:—

(1) To examine all new-made masters, and to look into the condition of outward bound ships, and ship's provisions.

(2) Some further regulations as to the diet of south seamen.

(3) To restrict the charges and interests imposed upon slop goods and advanced pay.

(4) To limit the number of ship-apprentices.

(5) To enforce the duties of the Sabbath on board merchant vessels.

Lastly. To empower and restrict the authority of ship-masters and officers; and, from the example of his Majesty's Navy, that all Articles wherein the power and authority of commanders and officers, and the rights and privileges of the sailors are concerned, that these be statedly and publicly read by one of the officers on the quarter-deck every Sunday at sea, or in harbour, if abroad.

I. The necessity of Port Examiners and Port Inspectors was shown in various cases which had come under the writer's experience, wherein ships, property, and lives were proved to have been lost, for want of the due examination of new-made masters, and the necessary inspection which every ship should undergo previous to fitting out for a foreign voyage. Some masters were stated to have the charge of ships who actually could not write their own names; and others, whose whole *summmum bonum* of navigation, was to work a day's work by the *lump*, were intrusted to take charge of ships to America, the West Indies, the Mediterranean, and even to New South Wales and the Indian Archipelago: while old worn-out ships which were actu-

ally deemed uninsurable by the Insuring Offices, and others equally unseaworthy (though insured through the imposition of false affidavits) have been sent to make a voyage at the hazard of property and lives, but have perished at sea with all on board. And so also the like fatal disasters were proved to have occurred on account of the preceding evil: hence, the necessity of every new-made master of merchant vessels trading foreign, being compelled to produce on clearing-out at the Custom-House a certificate from one of the legal Examiners appointed by the Right Honourable the Elder Brethren of the Trinity-House, to certify that A. B. has a competent knowledge of Practical Navigation—can work a common day's work; the latitude by the meridional altitude of the sun, moon, and stars, and by double altitudes—can take amplitudes and azimuths, and from thence find the variation of the compass, and apply the same to the charts—can adjust the sextant; knows the lunar stars, and can take correct distances, and from thence determine the longitude of the ship.—That he understands also the use of time-keepers set to the meridian of any place, and the nature of a common watch in gaining or losing time, as the ship is steering an easterly or westerly direction: this I mention, because I have known masters as well as mates, in sailing out of east longitude into west, and the contrary, who, in crossing the meridian of our antipodes, have been at a loss to know the day of the month on which the sun's declination, the moon's hor. par. and semi. diam., &c. are to be taken; or how to correct the same accordingly. And if the commanders and officers of ships in His Majesty's Navy and the Honourable East India Company are not exempt from a similar examination, why should the masters of merchant ships be excused?—seeing the lives, health, ships and property in them, are equally precious to the owners thereof.

II. As a preservative against the scurvy, to enforce a law to oblige all south seamen to allow one pint of PORTABLE SUPP, at least twice a week, to each man, and a larger and stated quantity of acids to be served out during the time the ship is on whaling ground where no fresh provision is to be obtained. Also, that the quality and age of all ship's provisions be carefully inquired

into and inspected previous to being shipped, as it is well known that in merchant ships the same provision has been re-shipped a second and even a third voyage, and such which in His Majesty's Navy would be thrown overboard as condemned stores, being fit only to create and feed the scurvy.

III. That a fair, stated, and legal profit, be allowed on slops and advanced pay to ship masters, *without any additional interest.*

IV. That a full complement of seamen, independent of *apprentices*, adequate to the working of the ship, is a case which demands some scrutiny, as an overplus of apprentices *included* in the ship's company, is one principal cause of so many of our seamen starving about the streets. Some ships are half manned with apprentices, but *as many* of these as are rated able seamen, *so many* additional starving, houseless sailors, are becoming incumbrances upon the Sailor's Home, the Sailor's Rest, the Port of London Society, or a burthen to their parishes.

We are aware there are some regulations to this effect, and that there is a formal muster at Gravesend; still, notwithstanding which, we know of as many as *twelve* apprentices belonging to a ship's company of thirty-three hands, including officers. And, as we are pleading the cause of unemployed sailors, we feel bound to say, for the benefit of these neglected men, as well as for the safety of shipping in general; that every ship should be compelled to take a full complement of men, independent of apprentices.

V. That the laws already established respecting the duties of the Sabbath-day be enforced, to the constant neglect and contempt of which, might be traced every want of discipline on board merchant ships; if not the abuse of power, and much of the evil which befalls shipping. This needs no comment, nor would I so insult a Christian public, as to presuppose it need any argument to defend an axiom which no man ever yet had the presumption to deny, *viz.: that God's mercy is equal to his power*; and, consequently, although the Sailor will ever have to contend with storms which are but the effects of natural causes, it being, we presume, the nature of the Deity to govern the universe by general laws, and very rarely to deviate from them, either for the punishment of evil doers, or for the benefit of them that do well;

yet it is no less true, that those who seek God shall ever find him a present help in time of need; and that although the storm may not be averted, yet its evil forebodings may be arrested by the earnest suppliant, for which we *appeal* both to the doctrine of the Church and the wisdom of the Legislature, who, from a conviction of this truth, have prescribed certain forms of prayer to be said on these occasions: hence we infer, that if a more frequent and a sincere regard was paid to the great duties of the Sabbath, less evil would likely befall shipping, especially if we consider how sore judgments have befallen both individuals, ships, and nations, "for the wickedness of them that dwell therein." We do not mean by this to say, that shipwrecks and losses are so many curses: we should hope the reverse in the end, as daily experience shows that both good and evil happen to all. And if we look only upon the surface of things we may stop here; but our business is to show that although we cannot counteract the storm, yet we may the evil which it forebodes, and though not the present, yet ultimately and most assuredly the future, (for every thing must work for good to the sincere Christian) and it is impossible that any thing should happen fortuitously with the Deity, for, if without him not a sparrow falls, how much less a ship be dashed to pieces without his immediate control; in whom, if we have the confidence, which as Christians *we all profess*, then "we know that whatsoever we ask according to his will, he heareth us, and granteth the petitions we desire of him;" hence, the necessity, the very policy (if we might so speak) of securing to ourselves the friendship and protection of that Being, who disposes of all events and governs futurity: upon which ground alone, feeling as we do for the welfare of our fellow-seamen, it is, that we have been induced to urge this proposition, *that a due and sincere regard be paid to the duties of the Sabbath on ship board*, doubting not that more permanent good may result from it: and instead of variance, strife, emulation, discord, and wrangling, we may have friendship, esteem, respect and peaceful conviviality: for to the neglect and contempt of the Sabbath may be traced the heaviest judgments which have befallen mankind; idolatry, heathenism, and even cannibalism; but I need go no

further, having already made an appeal in page 4, for the truth of my assertion, which I challenge the world, *after trial*, to deny. As hinted in Note, page 2, it was my intention to have said much on this subject; less I could not to clear myself from unjust calumny and imputation, to say more would be intruding, I will therefore leave it to the mercy of the waves, reminding the master of the merchant seaman that this is no new thing: they have the commanders of His Majesty's Navy and Honourable East India Company's ships for examples, to at least a formal observance of the Sabbath; and the Danes, Swedes, and Dutch, have long ago set England itself this example *daily* on board their ships, and every man who neglects to attend to this duty forfeits for every such offence one shilling, for the benefit of the Seamen's Infirmary.

LASTLY. For the satisfaction of all hands, it is needful that the power and limited authority of commanders and officers, and the rights and privileges of seamen, be judiciously pointed out on board merchant ships, and every ARTICLE which the Legislature has adopted, or may adopt, for the benefit and comfort of all, be statedly read by one of the officers, on the quarter deck, every Sunday. This reading of the Articles is strictly adhered to in the Navy, and the rules and regulations with the powers of the officer, and the rights of Seamen, in Merchant Vessels, as often require to be pulicly repeated, as a check to despotism on the one hand, and to insolence and contempt of duty on the other. Officers will not then be so ready to take the law in their own hands, nor will men be so daringly bold to insult their superiors.

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